



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

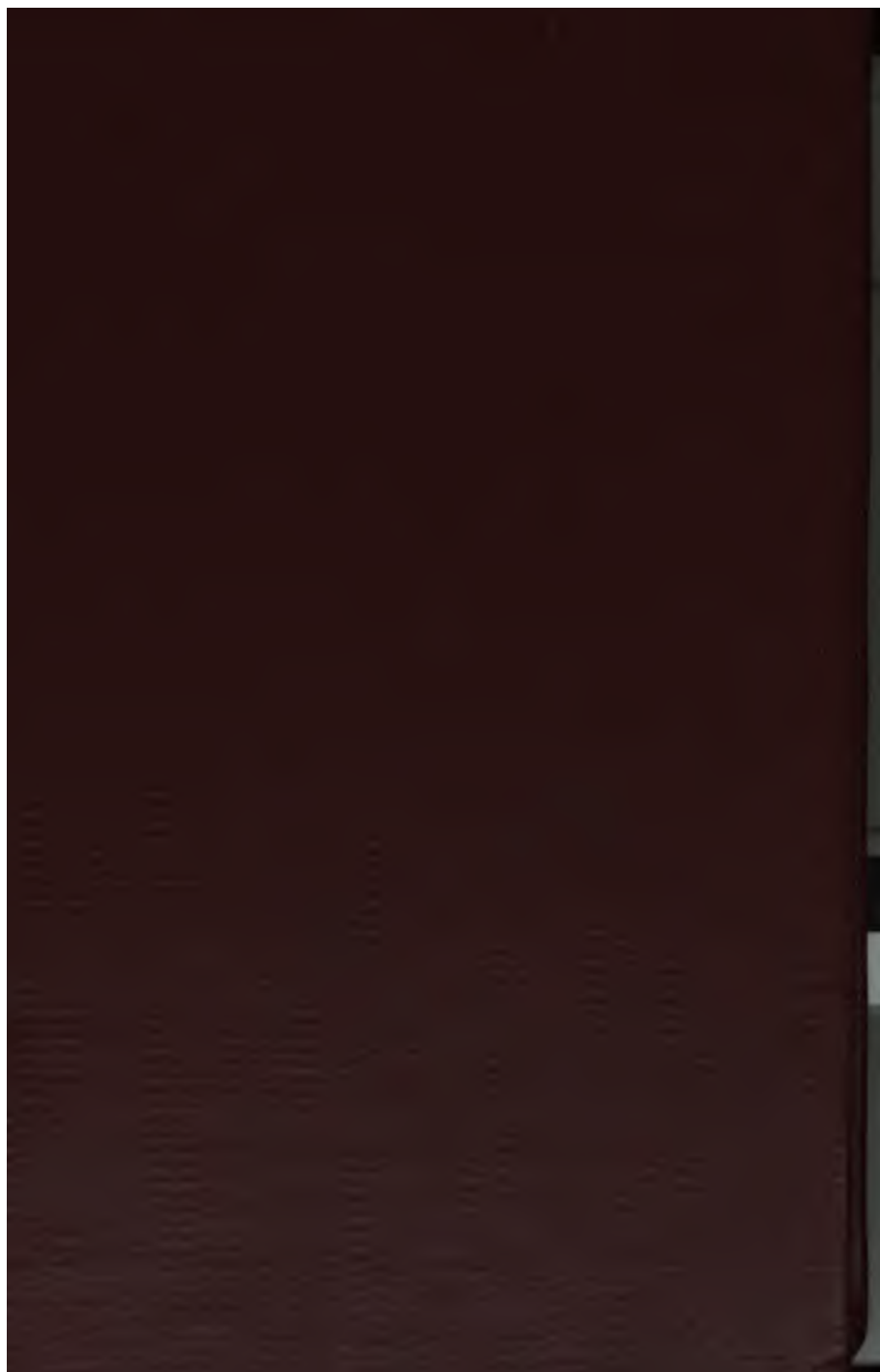
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



US 13753-7



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses.





THE NEGRO

A MENACE TO
AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M.D.

MAJOR, MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES ARMY (RETIRED).

Member the National Geographic Society ; Cor. Membr. Società Italiana d'Antropologia, Ethnologia, e Psicologia Comparata, Florence, Italy ;

Membr. l'Alliance Scientifique Universelle de France, Etc., Etc.

"A mixed race ; a fatal stumbling-block that
has cost more than one Latin race the crown
of empire."
—*John Cameron Grant.*



BOSTON

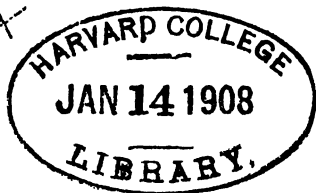
RICHARD G. BADGER

THE GORHAM PRESS

1907

~~14-7-12~~
U.S. 10723.8

A



Bright fund

COPYRIGHT, 1907.
BY R. W. SHUFELDT, M.D.
All Rights Reserved.

THE GORHAM PRESS, BOSTON, U. S. A.

TO THE MEMORY
OF MY
LEARNED AND HONORED COLLEAGUE
THE LATE
EDWARD DRINKER COPE
This Little Volume is Dedicated

AS A SLIGHT TRIBUTE TO THE NAME
OF ONE OF AMERICA'S PROFOUNDDEST PHILOSOPHERS, AND AS
AN EXPRESSION OF MY HIGH APPRECIATION OF HIS
VOLUMINOUS WORK IN BIOLOGY, AND OF THE
SINCERE EFFORT HE ONCE MADE
TO MAINTAIN THE PURITY OF THE RACE, OF
WHICH HE WAS SO DISTINGUISHED
A REPRESENTATIVE

To be a Negro in a day like this
Demands rare patience - patience that can wait
In utter darkness.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
<i>I. Man's Place in Nature from a Biological Standpoint.</i>	15
<i>II. The Ethnological Status of the Negro. .</i>	27
<i>III. The Introduction of the Negro into the United States.— The African Slave Trade.</i>	45
<i>IV. Biological Principles of Interbreeding in Man and Other Animals.</i>	65
<i>V. Half-breeds, Hybridization, Atavism, Heredity, Mental and Physical Characters of Race Hybrids.</i>	84
<i>VI. The Effects of Fraternization between the Ethiopian and Anglo-Saxon Races upon Morals, upon Ethics, and upon the Material Progress of Mankind.</i>	105
<i>VII. Passion and Criminality in the Negro: Lynch Law and other Questions. . .</i>	124
<i>VIII. Discussion of Remedies, Opinions of Others.</i>	152
<i>APPENDIX.</i>	183

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
✓ <i>Skull of Hybrid. [Negro and Indo-European]</i> <i>From a Cadaver Dissected by the Author.</i> <i>From a Photo. by the Author. . . Frontispiece</i>	
✓ <i>Fig. 1. Four Togo Women German Colonial</i> <i>Province of Togo, Slave Coast; West</i> <i>Africa. (Courtesy of Dr. C. H.</i> <i>Stratz, The Hague, Holland.) . . .</i>	36
✓ <i>Fig. 2. Type of Young Male Negro (New York</i> <i>City). Photographed by the Author</i> <i>(1908) Anterior Aspect. The subject</i> <i>has tuberculosis of the lungs, so com-</i> <i>mon to the race in America.</i>	48
✓ <i>Fig. 3. Type of Young Male Negro. Photo. by</i> <i>the Author. Same as Fig. 2. Lateral</i> <i>view.</i>	54
✓ <i>Fig. 4. Type of the northern Mulatto. Photo-</i> <i>graphed from life by the Author. . . .</i>	62
✓ <i>Fig. 5. Type of the northern Mulatto. Photo-</i> <i>graphed from life by the Author. . . .</i>	68
✓ <i>Fig. 6. Type of the northern Mulatto. Photo-</i> <i>graphed from life by the Author. . . .</i>	78
✓ <i>Fig. 7. Types of Negro children in the United</i> <i>States. (From a recent photograph.) . .</i>	90
✓ <i>Fig. 8. The Vance Family. The little girl in</i> <i>the father's arm was the negro Henry</i> <i>Smith's victim. (Photo. by J. L. Mer-</i> <i>tins, Paris, Texas. Feb. 1, 1898.) . .</i>	118

	FACING PAGE
Fig. 9. <i>Where the body of little Myrtle Vance was found. (Mertins, photo.).</i> . . .	124
Fig. 10. <i>Lynching of Henry Smith, (Paris, Texas, Feb. 1, 1893). Exhibiting the negro, after his capture, by driving him in a wagon around the square at Paris. (Hudson, Photo., Paris, Texas).</i>	132
Fig. 11. <i>General Scene of the Lynching of the Negro, Henry Smith. (Paris, Texas, Feb. 1, 1893. Mertins, photo.) . . .</i>	140
Fig. 12. <i>Fastening the negro, Henry Smith, to the Stake on the Scaffold and Burning His Abdomen with a Red Hot Iron. (Mertins, photo.)</i>	156
Fig. 13. <i>Lynching of Henry Smith. The Torture, Burning His Feet with a Red Hot Iron. (See Introduction and former figures. Mertins, photo. From an enlargement.)</i>	168
Fig. 14. <i>Destruction of the Body of the Lynched Negro, Henry Smith, (Paris, Texas, Feb. 1, 1893. Mertins, photo.) . . .</i>	178

INTRODUCTION

WHEN one comes to write a book upon such a subject as is treated of in the pages of the present little volume, there is usually some very definite reason that inspires the undertaking. This was distinctly the case in the present instance, and apart from all other considerations, be their nature what they may, my object in publishing a book on the negro race as it is now represented in this country, has been for the sole purpose of pointing out, from a purely scientific viewpoint, the effect that these introduced Ethiopians have had upon our progress and civilization, in the past, and what their continued presence among us means in the future. In offering to my readers what I have in the following pages I desire above all else to state that, although anthropologically speaking, the negro race of the stock here treated is not by any means a favorite ethnic group of mine among the world's peoples, either to study or to come in contact with, still I have no special prejudice against them, and in penning what is set forth in the ensuing chapters I have in no case or instance been actuated by any other motive than telling the truth, and telling the truth most plainly and fully. For nearly forty years past I have enjoyed unusually good opportunities to study the negro in the United States as well as in the West Indies, and that, too, in every phase of his

existence, and those opportunities have never been neglected. I have met with in my life-time any number of people who have and are prejudiced against the negro purely on account of his color. This has never been the case with myself, though I confess, that, when taken as a race and as a whole, what that color represents is extremely repugnant to me — by which I mean that color in this particular group of people in the world's anthropofauna. This I am the more certain of, for the reason that the representatives of other black or dark-skinned races do not affect me in a similar manner.

There is another point — with negroes, as with everything else in the world — some are very much better than others. I have met with a good many very worthy negro men in my life; I have met with my full share of the much revered, old-fashioned southern "mammies," also the much venerated "aunties"; picturesque types of negro children, scores of "piccaninies" and the rest, — but I have yet to meet one of these people anywhere, or any of their hybrids, that have not been more or less deeply imbued with superstition, or had the general characters of the race still clinging to them, — characters and characteristics of a kind by no means to be envied or desirable. Superstition alone, whether religious or otherwise, will eventually cause the downfall of any people in the world, no matter what their civilization may be, or to what height they have risen.

In so far as this aspect of my subject is concerned it is quite unnecessary for me to dilate upon it further, that is in a prefatory way, inasmuch as it is fully treated in several of the chapters of the present work.

The bringing of the negro to our shores requires no special comment other than what I have given in its proper place in the body of the work, beyond inviting the attention of the reader to the fact which I desire to lay especial stress upon here as in all other places where the opportunity presents itself, and that is, the taking of Africans out of Africa and settling them in this country by no means makes Americans of them. It would be quite as reasonable to expect zebras to turn into horses when similarly transported. Nature cares not a straw for human laws and politics, and the passing of a race into any new political area makes not another race of it. Profound and comparatively rapid changes can be effected only through crossing with other races and this is what is happening, in the case of the African in the United States as I have elsewhere abundantly pointed out. It is, therefore, only to the hybrids thus produced that the recently much used appellation of "Afro-American" can be truthfully applied. The unmixed African in this country is just as much of a negro today as his ancestors were before him in Africa. He simply stands upon our soil, in every such individual case, as a potential ethnic factor ready at any and at all times to do his share in debasing the blood of the white race in America. There is no greater danger assailing American civilization than this,—there can be no greater danger than anything which will effect the degradation of a race, and it is the presence of this danger which has impelled me to write this book. I desire to add my voice to the voices of others who have pointed out this danger before and doubtless more potently than I have here, as well as to lend

encouragement to those who will surely raise their voices in a similar manner in the future, perhaps long after mine and those of others now living shall be stilled forever. It is extremely rare to have the people of any civilized nation listen to the warnings of science, much less to act upon them,—and, it is still less likely to have anything of that kind happen, when the danger, as it is in this matter, is so widespread, so insidious, insinuating and so subtle.

In treating the question of lynching I have intentionally touched upon it only in a general way, and supported my remarks by accounts culled from various newspapers, and these latter I have personally collected for a period extending over ten years. The cases are by no means the most horrible known in the history of this country, nor did I deem it necessary to present more than I have on the subject. My illustrations give in a pictorial way one of the most terrible lynchings known to us, that is of the negro Henry Smith at Paris, Texas, on the first of February, 1893. The papers all over the country were filled with it at the time. The New York Herald of the date mentioned gave it over a column, leading off in the following words: "Henry Smith, a negro, was killed by slow torture here today [Paris, Texas]. He had committed a terrible crime, and every torment that the ingenuity of an angry mob could suggest was inflicted upon him.

"His agonies were long prolonged. Hot irons were placed upon the soles of his feet, rolled over his quivering body, poked into his eyes and down his throat. A scaffold upon which he lay was then set on fire. His clothes and fetters burned off and he threw himself on the ground, he was tossed back into

the flames again and again until death came to his relief. The murder of little Myrtle Vance, aged three years, had been horribly avenged. He had killed the child, after assaulting her, last Tuesday night." But enough; as I have said, nothing would be gained here by recounting in full such ghastly horrors. It takes a negro to assault a pretty and winsome little girl less than four years of age; then catch her by her feet and tear her body in twain; and afterwards to be so indifferent to the crime as to lie down and *sleep* by his mutilated little victim all night. Scores of similar cases might easily have been retold in the pages of this book, but for very obvious reasons I have refrained from doing so. It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that I am morally opposed to all forms of lynch law, but the negro is with us; savagery and barbarous acts beget savagery and barbarous acts; what some are pleased to call the Christian religion has no more to do with it, has no more control over it, than the bursting of a soap-bubble has to do with an earthquake,—and there you have it. Lynchings, in spite of everything, will continue to occur in the United States of America just so long as there is a negro left here alive, and there is a white won.an living for him to assault. He can no more help his instincts than he is responsible for the color of his skin.

So far as transporting any considerable number, say a million or two of the most undesirable class, out of this country, I have little to add beyond what I have said in Chapter VIII at the end of this volume. The members of the National Academy of Sciences, a body supposed to be the advisers to Congress on questions affecting the weal of the country as a whole, might

recommend such a step to Congress, and the latter act upon it. But, the Academy, as a rule, do not make such use of its profound knowledge of ethnology, history and the now well-understood laws of biology.

Then there are plenty of people in this country of ours who would far rather see, were it possible for them to live long enough, the entire white race here rotted by heroic injections into their veins of all the savagery and criminality there is in the negro, than have any number of the latter, however great or small, in any way inconvenienced by their being returned to the country from which their ancestors came.

In closing this introduction there are a few to whom it affords me pleasure to express my profound thanks for their assistance in steering this book safely through the press. Two of these gentlemen I am not permitted to name, but my most sincere thanks are extended to them nevertheless, and none the less heartily upon that account, and had it not been for their prompt and substantial support this little volume may never have seen the light. I am responsible for everything that appears in it and it only remains for me to thank my friend Mr. W. F. Fleming, of Denison, Texas, who kindly went over the entire galley proof for me, thus giving it a revision which his long experience and great skill made of especial value, not to mention the labor it saved me at a time when other literary work was demanding nearly my entire attention.

R. W. S.

New York City.

CHAPTER I

Man's Place in Nature, from a Biological Standpoint.

THERE never has been but one way to decide man's position in the system of nature. It is the way of science, and consists in examining man anatomically, physiologically, psychologically and otherwise, and comparing the information thus obtained with the corresponding data, secured through similar methods from other living forms now existing upon the earth. Man and his career in the world up to the present writing may also be examined historically, palæontologically and anthropologically as far as the discovered data will permit us to carry the investigation. In fact, in order to establish correctly the place man holds in nature it becomes necessary to compare and intercompare every possible thing we can find out about him, both in present and past time, with a similar knowledge, as far as we have mastered it, of all other animals in the world, and with especial care in regard to those forms which are universally conceded to, and do most resemble him. Such an investigation should, as far as possible, be exhaustive. Its result must be accepted, provided it bears the trade-mark of Truth. Science has done this and has come to a finding based upon the evidence secured. This evidence has been accumulating since the dawn of history, and in amount and in

number of established facts, is absolutely overwhelming. As a whole, as well as in part, it has passed through the test crucible of time; at each step in its history its refinement has been secured through the most intense fire in the furnace of criticism; and, finally, clothed in truth we now have the solution of this long-debated question in our possession, and settled forever. The comments of the ignorant upon the finding of science in this matter are no longer regarded by the intelligent among us; the fire, the protest, and the ridicule of theology that followed this investigation, step by step, throughout its entire course from its birth to its final decision, has died out and been suspended. Science no longer heeds the feeble and dogmatic expostulations that emanate from any such direction; she has more important things to do. Man's place in nature is now as thoroughly known and established as is the fact that the earth is enveloped in the sea of its own atmosphere. And it was by no means altogether through the pen, the brains, and the philosophy of Charles Darwin that science was enabled to arrive at the truth of the question — and, as for the matter of that, his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, years before him had foreshadowed the finding (*The Temple of Nature*, 1804, pp, 67, 68). This finding has been the outcome of the labor and investigation of a great army of workers,— the minds, the scalpels, the microscopes, and the pens of the individual researchers of which have each and all, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unconsciously, contributed to the result. As an anthropological fact it has passed out of the realm of mere hypothesis into the full blaze of established fact. A rational writer at the present day, in touching

upon the question of man's place in nature would no more think of introducing the subject to his readers in an argumentative way, than he would were he called upon to write about the atomic theory, the law of gravitation, or the form of the earth, for it is a fact far better established than any of these. Moreover, we can actually handle the material upon which the evidence is based, and the new evidence that is coming to light in ever-increasing masses as each day rolls by, brings but solid confirmation to science's verdict, not only as to the place occupied by man and mankind in nature, but exactly as to how he came to be there.

One can enter any public or private library today and pick the works of the time where he will, from school-book to lexicon, from fact to fiction: history has but one thing to say on this particular point any more. We find it tersely epitomized for us in the great dictionaries of the time, as for example in the Century Dictionary we find "man" defined as "a featherless plantigrade biped mammal of the genus *Homo*; *Homo sapiens*, a species of the family *Hominidæ* or *Anthropidæ*, order *Primates*, class *Mammalia*, of which there are several geographical races or varieties:" (Vol. V., p. 3601). There is no question of what is meant by this definition, and again, in the same authoritative work, we find *Hominidæ* defined in the following words, to wit:—"A family of mammals, represented by the single genus *Homo*, man, of the suborder *Anthropoidea* and order *Primates*; mankind. It is characterized by the complete withdrawal of the fore-limbs from the office of locomotion, and consequently the habitually erect attitude except in infancy; the perfection of the hand as a

prehensile organ, and the specialization of the foot as a locomotory organ; the regular curvature of the line of the teeth, which are of the same length and in uninterrupted series, without diastemata; the nakedness of most of the body; and the large facial angle. These are the principal zoölogical characters by which the *Hominidæ* are distinguished from the *Simiidæ* or anthropoid apes. Physiologically, mankind is peculiar chiefly in the capacity of civilization, or the ability to create progressive institutions (including the formation and use of speech). Psychologically, man is separated by a very wide interval from the nearest *Simiidæ*. The family is the same as *Anthropidæ*; it is conterminous with its single genus *Homo*, with the order *Bimana*, and with the subclass *Archencephala*." (Vol. IV., p. 2866.) This is clear enough, and certainly amply good enough for a dictionary definition. However, as a generic diagnosis it offers us with numerous exceptions. In the first place negroes are to be found that possess the upper and lower canines, especially the former, much lengthened. Again, both men and women have been found, and exist at the present time, in whom the body (including the head sometimes) is completely covered with a thick and heavy growth of hair. In a Burmese family every member (eight or ten individuals) was so covered, even including the entire face. It is more frequently seen in the white than in the black-skinned races. Finally, there is great variance in the openness or the reverse, in the case of the facial angle.

With these and a few other minor exceptions added, there is not a biologist in the world today who will not fully indorse the definition of man and the family

Hominidæ as quoted above from the Century Dictionary. So far as man's place in nature is concerned, it epitomizes the case as stated by anatomists the world over for the last half-century or more. It obviates the necessity of my pointing out what Sir Richard Owen has said on the subject, or Professor Huxley, or Darwin, or Gegenbaur, or hundreds of other biologists who have personally and exhaustively examined for years the material upon which such an opinion is based. It puts man and mankind squarely in the group *Mammalia* where he belongs, and classifies him accordingly. His speech, his civilization (whatever that may mean), and his present progress (if in reality man is progressing mentally, morally and physically) and all that separates him from any other animal in general, and from the higher apes in particular. Anatomically, structurally, he is no better fitted to do what he is doing in the world, than is the gorilla in the forests of darkest Africa physically qualified to lead its particular life. Furthermore, man is subject to the same diseases and injuries that the simians are, or even in some cases the mammals below them. He will eat and live upon anything that any other animal will eat, be it cooked or uncooked. He is insectivorous, carnivorous — indeed, omnivorous. He will thrive upon insects, snails, corn, the slain animals, young and old, of other genera than his own, as well as those of his own species. His young are born just as the young of many other mammals are, and for many weeks, *in utero*, they cannot be with certainty distinguished from foetal gorillas. In fact, and taken as a whole, man's reproduction, from the time he courts the female, until the time the young shift for them-

selves, offers nothing different from what we see among many other mammals, and there is considerable evidence to support the statement that the female chimpanzee can be impregnated by man, and vice versa, there is every reason to believe that any male adult of the gorilla or chimpanzee can successfully impregnate the female of the genus *Homo*. Man experiences pain and pleasure just as other mammals do, and the same may be said for all the other emotions and feelings, as anger, fear, hatred, selfishness, greed, cowardice, bravery, and every other qualification of the kind known. The sensations experienced on the part of a frightened man and a frightened monkey are actually the same, identical in every particular, and in many instances the behavior is the same under the same circumstances. So on for grief, for spite, and for treachery. I have seen dogs, monkeys and many other animals that possessed just as keen a sense of right and wrong, as the average of mankind does, and as for the refinements of cruelty of all kinds toward their fellow species, man outclasses any other group of animals in the known world. Indeed, man is the most cruel animal in existence and by no means, as a rule, always the most cleanly. Men steal and murder, so do other animals; men deceive others in no end of ways, and so do other animals; men slay their own fathers, mothers, mates, children and friends and relatives, and so do other animals, though, in proportion, not as frequently. Men cohabit with their own mothers, daughters and sisters,—so do other animals. Auto-erotism in all its forms is practiced by both men and women all over the world. Other mammals usually confine themselves to some of the simpler forms of masturba-

The writer, in comparing
the material manifestation
of the soul, the forget

tion. Homosexuality is common in mankind, and far more so than it is among other animals. It is met with in both sexes. As a matter of fact, whether induced by disease, or indulged in by the normal man or woman, there is no animal or group of animals on earth, outside of man that practices a wider range of sexual perversions, psychopathia sexualis, and the most fiendish and inconceivable departures from normal coition to a natural end than does the genus *Homo*. He actually out-animals,—yes, out-beasts the bestiality of the very beasts themselves. Along these lines no other animal can compete with him, nor rival him in the contraction of venereal disease as a consequence. With respect to instinct and reason it does not differ in any respect whatever throughout the entire range of animated nature, it differs but in degree, while typical instinct and the instincts, are the same everywhere and in all organizations. Reason has been brought to a higher plane in the best of mankind, those enjoying the most exalted intellectual development, whereas thousands of men and women exist in all parts of the world in whom the reasoning faculties are no keener than in the most intelligent foxes, dogs, and elephants. Ethnologists have proven this fact over and over again.

As for an existence beyond this life here on earth, no man living knows one whit more of it, than does the bull-frog that croaks in the marshes. Many think that they do, and stoutly claim that they do, but in reality every reasoning man and woman in the world knows full well that it is the most deep-seated, universal and notorious fallacy afloat. It would make a good common-sense baboon smile to think of it, especially as he is an honorable *de facto* representative

of man's own zoölogical order. If mankind be entitled to a life in futurity, to be enjoyed either in eternal pleasure or in eternal pain, so then too are all the simians, and indeed, clear down the entire chain to include the very toad-stools and the amœbæ,—protoplasm. The simplest inductive reasoning upon the evidence in hand carries us at once and directly to such a conclusion. Hope and faith, when combined, constitute one thing,—incontrovertible facts, and evidence, and inductive reasoning constitutes, when based in truth, quite another thing. Hope and faith may both fail us even in affairs of the most supreme import,—if it be of any importance to any one that there be a life hereafter,—while conclusions founded on facts and truth and drawn from evidence based upon the same, are unalterable, regardless of what men or mice think of it, and will through all eternity remain immutable.


*ah
never
Turkey* Man is the most conceited being in the entire world's menagerie,—and on what account, pray? Surely not because of his shape or his anatomy. No, not that, but only in consequence of his higher reasoning powers, which in the course of his psychological evolution, and his morphological and physiological adaptation, have advanced him to a stage in which he is fitted to annihilate utterly every other animal on the face of the globe—an operation he is accomplishing with a varying rapidity and swiftness truly interesting to contemplate. His civilization consists in replacing in nature much that formerly existed there, with his machines, his habitations and places of pleasure, his improved passageways and contrivances that subserve the ends of

education and the acquisition of knowledge. He is every inch a *Primate* nevertheless, and ever will be, with all that this word means. His place in nature is as fixed as is the fact that if his head be cut off it will kill him.

That man has a place *in* nature there is no manner of a doubt and the truth has been told when we admit that it *is*, in reality, *in nature*, and that he has arisen to that place in time and along developmental lines in every way similar to those lines followed in their evolution by all other animals in nature, starting as they have, and we all have, in common, from the simplest animals known to us, and which existed in the world with the first manifestations of life of any kind.

In commenting upon this forty years ago in his "Evidences as to Man's Place in Nature" Mr. Huxley said: "Science has fulfilled her function when she has ascertained and enunciated truth; and were these pages addressed to men of science only, I should now close this essay, knowing that my colleagues have learned to respect nothing but evidence, and to believe that their highest duty lies in submitting to it, however it may jar against their inclinations. But desiring, as I do, to reach the wider circle of the intelligent public, it would be unworthy cowardice were I to ignore the repugnance with which the majority of my readers are likely to meet the conclusions to which the most careful and conscientious study I have been able to give to this matter, has led me.

"On all sides I shall hear the cry—'we are men and women, and not a mere better sort of apes, a little longer in the leg, more compact in the foot, and bigger in brain than your brutal Chimpanzees and



Gorillas. The power of knowledge—the consciousness of good and evil—the pitiful tenderness of human affections, raise us out of all real fellowship with the brutes, however closely they may seem to approximate us.

“To this I can only reply that the exclamation would be most just and would have my own entire sympathy, if it were only relevant. But it is not I who seek to base Man’s dignity upon his great toe, or insinuate that we are lost if an Ape has a hippocampus minor. On the contrary, I have done my best to sweep away this vanity. I have endeavoured to show that no absolute structural line of demarcation, wider than that between the animals which immediately succeed us in the scale, can be drawn between the animal world and ourselves; and I may add the expression of my belief that the attempt to draw a physical distinction is equally futile, and that even the highest faculties of feeling and of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life. At the same time no one is more strongly convinced than I am of the vastness of the gulf between civilized man and the brutes; or is more certain that whether *from* them or not, he is assuredly not *of* them. No one is less disposed to think lightly of the present dignity, or despairingly of the future hopes, of the only consciously intelligent denizen of this world.

“We are indeed told by those who assume authority in these matters, that the two sets of opinions are incompatible, and that the belief in the unity of origin of man and brutes involves the brutalization and degradation of the former. But is this really so? Could not a sensible child confute, by obvious arguments,

the shallow rhetoricians who would force this conclusion upon us? Is it, indeed, true, that the Poet, or the Philosopher, or Artist whose genius is the glory of his age, is degraded from his high estate by the undoubted historical probability, not to say certainty, that he is the direct descendant of some naked and bestial savage, whose intelligence was just sufficient to make him a little more cunning than the Fox, and so much more dangerous than the Tiger? Or is he bound to howl and grovel on all fours because of the wholly unquestionable fact, that he was once an egg, which no ordinary power of discrimination could distinguish from that of a Dog? Or is the philanthropist or the saint to give up his endeavours to lead a noble life, because the simplest study of man's nature reveals, at its foundations, all the selfish passions and fierce appetites of the merest quadruped? Is mother-love vile because a hen shows it, or fidelity base because dogs possess it?"

In the work from which these rather long quotations have been taken, Professor Huxley answers these questions himself, and that too in a manner the conclusiveness of which leaves not the slightest doubt in the mind of any reasonable person as to their correctness. There are, however, still unnumbered thousands of people in the world who can afford to read these words with comfort and with decided advantage. They had their weight at the time, while today, inasmuch as the law of organic evolution is established, they are as true and as logical as any of the demonstrations in Euclid's geometry.

No thoughtful, reading and intelligent man or woman today believes that in the beginning mankind saw

its origin in a miraculously created pair in no way differing from representatives of the human race of the present day. That the man was the result of a separate act of creation, and the woman the outcome of a miracle. That fable has had its day, and those who still profess or say that they believe it are either simply hypocrites or are as crassly ignorant as a native Hottentot.

In my opinion it is not at all necessary to enter further upon this question, the discussion of which savors so much of an argument advanced to prove that the earth is not flat, as the author of the Eden story undoubtedly believed it to be. As we shall soon see in a later chapter, there is no doubt as to the existence of vast differences that distinguish in many ways the various races of men now peopling the earth, yet this truth is no better established than is the fact that the entire family of mankind has in common with all other existing mammals descended from a common progenitor, and that at the present time the genus *Homo* and the various genera of the higher simians are all members of the same group.

CHAPTER II

The Ethnological Status of the Negro.

INDISCRIMINATING people speak of the inhabitants of the great continent of Africa in the loosest possible manner, designating them collectively as negroes. This, however, as every well-informed person knows, is by no means the case. In the first place all the northern tier of countries bordering upon the Mediterranean are inhabited by races of an entirely different description and possessing important histories. So it is with the most of the east side of the continent and southward for some considerable distance. In the extreme southwest, too, we have the Bosjesmen and the Hottentots, and neither of these belong to the negro or negroid races. Their stock is quite different. Apart from the inhabitants of Africa just indicated, as well as those who have made Africa their home coming from diverse countries, as Europe and other continents, there still remain to be taken into consideration some one hundred and thirty-two millions of others, and there are the negro and negroid races, either composed of pure and original stock, or those produced by hybridization or inter-breeding with the foreigners or with other African nations. This enormous mass of people occupy four great regions on the continent, namely the region of West Soudan and Guinea; of Central Soudan and the

Chad Basin; of East Soudan and Upper Nile; and of South Africa, where the Bantu family resides. These four regions contain from four to eight great groups of black or dark-colored people representing often very widely different races speaking dissimilar languages, entirely different in their appearances and customs, and finally, having altogether separate histories. Some of the races we know a good deal about, some of them we know but very little about and, of the great mass of them, many millions in number, we know absolutely nothing. We do know, however, that some twenty-five millions more of negroes and their descendants are living in other parts of the world besides Africa. Their descendants are either true negroes or else hybrids resulting from the former's crossing with the whites, with Indians, or other nationalities. Many of these negroes and half-castes are to be found in North and South America and the West Indies, having been forcibly introduced there through the slave-hunters of by-gone years. It is reckoned that there are some ten millions of negroes and half-breed descendants in the United States alone, and these in some sections are increasing with great rapidity, especially in the Southern States where the climate, food, and other conditions are suitable to their propagation. As the book I am now writing is chiefly devoted to a consideration of the negroes and their descendants in this country I shall not attempt to pay any attention to the major part of the great hordes of those peoples to be found in Africa. I shall here only incidentally refer to those on the west coast, known as the Gold or Slave Coast of the African Continent, and only refer to the other tribes or races as occasion requires, and that for the purpose of draw-

ing upon them for additional illustrations in the matter of their histories, their mental, moral, and physical characters or anything that may shed light upon the special subject with which I am dealing. In the next following chapter, or in Chapter III. it will be my aim to present a brief review of what we already know of the slave-trade that was carried on between the United States and the west coast of Africa prior to the Civil War. This will be merely for the purpose of reviving those incidents in the mind of the reader, and thus fill out the sociologic picture I have in hand for treatment.

In the previous chapter or Chapter I., the position of the genus *Homo*—man and mankind,—in the animal world was briefly set forth. Man is an animal and belongs directly in the mammalian series. To this law there has never been an exception, a single departure, since the earth became a planet. It applies just as rigidly to the men and women of the present day as it did to the earliest forms of men that were evolved from the pristine simian stock thousands of years ago. It applies with just as much truth to one individual as another—to one race as another, and to the world's anthropofauna as a whole, both past and present. It is as true of Christ as it is of the blackest Ashantee that ever came into being; as true of any one of the Popes of Rome as it is of a groveling Hottentot idiot; it is as true of both the highest, and the lowest in every and all particulars of men everywhere; finally, it is as true of the population of Africa, severally and individually, as it is of the population of the United States, severally and individually. But then when we come to the mental, moral, intellectual, and the psycho-

•

logical attributes of man—of men, mankind,—the existing differences among various representatives of the genus *Homo* in these respects in all parts of the world, as applied to the individual or to the race or group, are simply immeasurable in many instances. Throughout the entire history of the world, dating as far back as we can follow it with certainty and accuracy, both men and women have exhibited differences in regard to culture, refinement, knowledge and mental capacity. They have also exhibited differences with respect to their philosophical calibre, and the ability to employ the reasoning faculty in its varied fields as applied to logical ends and to the solutions of practical and theoretical questions of every imaginable character. Gauged thus, the plane occupied by the greatest individual in all spheres of activity in which men and women have engaged since the dawn of civilization, of the highest callings in life,—mankind upon that plane, I say,—is as much above the one occupied by the lowest savage races of the world throughout history, as the loftiest mountain-peak on the earth is above the bottom of the deepest part of its deepest ocean. Linnæus, Von Humboldt, Huxley, Darwin, and other great minds are just as much of the animal world as the lowest Yorubas, Bushmen or Australian natives. No one of the whole knows one whit more of the probabilities of a life beyond the present one than another, and were such a future existence possible in any form whatever, the greatest philosopher that ever lived would have no higher claim to it, than the most degraded savage that ever skulked through his native forests. Here all are upon the same plane, but intellectually and psychologically, using those

terms in their broadest sense, the gap standing between such a philosopher as Darwin was, for example, and a cannibal of the West African Coast, is as profound a one as the best minds among us can conceive of or demonstrate.

Granting all this we are now in a position to pass upon the mental, moral and physical characters of the negroes and negroids. A just consideration of these will furnish the necessary data to enable us to establish the ethnological status of these people. It must be understood that the negroes I am dealing with are those tribes found in the West Soudan, the Congo Basin, the Slave and Gold coasts of Africa, the stock in fact from which was derived the negroes that were brought to the United States as slaves. These are the negroes, and the descendants of these are of the race or races that interest us here in this country. It is they that we have upon our hands, and it is they that we have to deal with in the condition of affairs widely known as the "negro problem".

The word *negro* seems to be of Italian and Spanish origin, and is derived, originally from the Latin *niger* meaning black. Anthropologically, it distinctly characterizes the race of negroes to be described in the present volume,—those of the western Soudan, their true home. All others are of negroid or even sub-negroid blood, and it would appear that the original undiluted stock came from out the land of Lemuria, that hypothetical region now submerged beneath the waters of the Indian Ocean. They were the lands that constituted the cradle of the negro stock. They are found now only in a pure state in the Benue and Shari basins; in the Gaboon; on the coast of Guinea, and

along the lower Zambesi river. Here range or here are located the villages of the unnumbered hordes of blacks that occupy the lowest position in the scale of evolution of the genus *Homo*. Among them are the relatives of many of the negroes in the United States, and indeed large numbers of the latter are no further removed from the most degraded standard of savagery than they are. Typical representatives of these true negroes anywhere are markedly uniform with respect to their moral and physical characters. More so in fact than any other people of whatever nationality they may be. For this reason they offer us admirable material for comparison, morally, socially, and morphologically, with not only the higher forms of existing apes and their allies, but also with human races standing in the evolutionary scale above them.

Taking up first some of his external characters it will be seen that the hair is short, black and frizzly, in fact distinctly *woolly*. A single hair on section is elliptical or quite flat. In this particular negroes differ as compared with the simians, the latter having coats of true hair, and not wool as on the heads and other parts of the former. Keane states that P. U. Brown in his *Classification of Mankind by the Hair* "shows conclusively that, unlike true hair and like true wool, the negro hair is flat, issues from the epidermis at a right angle, is spirally twisted or crisped, has no central duct, the coloring matter being disseminated through the cortex and intermediate fibres, while the cortex itself is covered with numerous rough, pointed filaments adhering loosely to the shaft; lastly the negro pile will felt, like wool, whereas true hair cannot be felted. Observing that the negro domain is also the habitat of

the most anthropoid apes — gorilla and chimpanzee,— and that these bimanous and quadrumanous species are both of a pronounced dolichocephalic type (index nos. 72-75), some anthropologists have suggested the direct descent of the former from the latter. But against this view may be urged the different texture of the pile, which, although black in both, is woolly in the negro but true hair in the ape." The negro has a large black eye, with the sclerotic coat tinged with yellow, a distinctive character, frequently noticed in the typical west coast negroes of the United States. The jaws exhibit decided prognathism, or projection forward, the facial angle being seventy degrees against the eighty-two of the average white man. Another marked feature is the nose, which is broad, flat, dilated nostrils, and with the ridge concaved often showing the red inner surface of the mucous membrane. The lips are very large, protruding, and heavy. The malar bones and zygomatic arches being prominent, the cheeks are made equally so. These full-blood negroes have black skins, or of a deep brownish tint. Climate has nothing whatever to do with this, nor has any special pigment. It is due, however, to a superabundance of coloring matter between the true and the scarf skins. Soft and velvety to the touch, the negro epidermis is for the most part quite free of hair, and would be to many more or less attractive were it not for the outrageous odor it emits, especially under heat and excitement. This is sometimes so strong that I have known ladies of our own race brought almost to the stage of emesis when compelled to inhale it for any length of time. Usually the negro is of but average height, by no means always erect, presenting curves

due to the prominence of the back of the head, the shape of the spine and pelvis, and the general morphology of his frame. The anterior pair of limbs are long as in the apes (see figure 1), and frequently slender, while the pelvic extremities may be weak, deficient in calves, and with a low instep to the feet, which are broad and flat. The heel projects backward, and the hallux or big toe slightly independent and tends to become prehensile. Again, the hand of the typical negro, although human, often has much about it to remind us of the manus in the gorilla. In two instances I met with very black negroes in the South, both men, in whom the ears were conspicuously pointed at their upper margins as in many *Quadrumana*. The projecting point on the helix, as described by Darwin, I have noticed far more frequently in negroes than in the white races. It is undoubtedly a vestigial character indicating that man arose from a pointed-eared animal. The ear in the foetal orang is likewise pointed. Sometimes the external genital organs are enormously developed in the negro, especially the penis in the man, and the clitoris in the female. The hair on the pubis is coarse and kinky as it is on the head. It may be quite abundant. Many years ago I dissected an old negro man in Washington, D. C., at the National Medical College. As a subject he was particularly simian in his organization, and one thing I noticed about him more than anything else, in addition to his immense copulatory organ, was the structure of his toe-nails. These were, on all toes, but especially the great toes, marvelously thickened and curved, reminding one at once of the claws on certain animals. It has been one of the re-

grets of my life that I did not save those peculiar structures; they were over twenty times as thick as the ordinary toe-nail, and evidently had not been trimmed for years. That same winter I dissected a rather light-colored negress who had double breasts, two upon each side, one above the other. All four were fully developed and, in life, functional. So far as my knowledge carries me, the development of a tail, that is, a free, movable caudal appendage, with rudimentary vertebræ in it, occurs quite as infrequently in the white race as it does in the negro. It is very rare in either. In the skull of the negro the cranial capacity and the brain itself is much under-sized. On the average, the former will hold thirty-five fluid ounces, as against forty-five for the Caucasian skull. In the negro the cranial bones are dense and unusually thick, converting his head into a veritable battering-ram. Moreover the cranial sutures unite firmly very early in life. This checks the development of the brain long before that takes place in other races, and this fact accounts to some extent for the more or less sudden stunting of the Ethiopian intellect shortly after arriving at puberty. Filippo Manetta has pointed out that "the negro children [on the plantations in the South] were sharp, intelligent, and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seems to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the Negro and White proceeds on different lines, while with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary

arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone" (*La Razza Negra nel suo stato selvaggio*, etc. Turin, 1864, p. 20).

In his internal anatomy the negro exhibits a much closer approach to the anthropoid apes than any other race of the genus *Homo*. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that he has not been so completely differentiated from the simian stock as the other races of mankind have.

Many vestigial or rudimentary organs and structures that are constant in the case of the animals below man appear far more frequently in the negro than in the white race. It will not be necessary to enumerate all of these when a few will answer our purpose, especially when taken in connection with the external characters already given above. I believe that it will be found that the supracondyloid foramen of the humerus (feline carnivora, gorilla) is more frequently present in the negro, and I am quite sure the *psoas parvus* muscle is. Dr. Edward A. Ballock was interested in this subject a number of years ago (September 1891), and read a paper upon it before the Washington Medical Society (D. C.), he being a resident of that city. He has sent me the original MS. of this paper, and as it is short and to the point, I find it useful to include in the present chapter. It is entitled *On the relative frequency of the psoas parvus muscle in the colored race*, and I may say that what its author found to be the case is confirmed by my own experience, both on the dissecting-table as well as in my reading. Dr. Ballock said:—

"For a long time I have been impressed with the



Fig. 1. Four Togo women: German Colonial Province of Togo; Slave Coast, West Africa. (Courtesy of Dr. C. H. Stratz, The Hague, Holland.)

fact that American anatomists were neglecting a field fertile in promise, rich in opportunity and certain to yield fruitful results to careful cultivation. I refer to the investigation of the anatomical peculiarities of the negro, including in that term both those of pure and mixed blood. This field is peculiarly our own and, from the necessity of the case, must long continue to be so. We owe it to ourselves not less than to our science to investigate it thoroughly. We should not let slip this opportunity to make and record careful observations.

"A recent search through the literature bearing on this point, made in another connection, enables me to say that, by the European anatomist, an opportunity to study a negro subject is regarded as an especial privilege. Each organ and structure is carefully examined and all anomalies noted. Thus Turner in England and Chudzinski in France have put on record detailed accounts of dissections of this character and evidently they are regarded as of high scientific value. With us the very abundance of such material leads to its neglect. Were negro subjects so much of a rarity with us as they are abroad we may easily imagine with what care each one would be dissected.

"It seems to me that we have here a remarkable chance to make solid additions to our science, particularly in the line of comparative anatomy which, to my mind, is the only scientific anatomy.

"In isolated instances this has been done and the literature of medicine and anthropology contains not a few allusions to this matter. Among others, Parker has noted important differences between negro and Caucasian brains and Baker has recorded many my-

ological differences, but, so far as I am aware, the matter has never received the careful and systematic investigation it deserves.

"I have thought it opportune to bring it to the notice of the Society at this time, in the hope of stimulating interest in it and leading to its further development. The isolated fact of today may become the generalization of tomorrow and if each shall contribute his mite we shall soon have a body of facts sufficient to warrant us in deducing the laws of agreement and difference, if such there be.

"During a somewhat extended service as demonstrator of anatomy in one of our local medical schools, using negro subjects entirely, one myological peculiarity of the race was forcibly impressed upon my attention. I refer to the almost invariable presence of the *psoas parvus* muscle, on both sides and well developed. I regret that I kept no exact record but I feel warranted in saying that the presence of this muscle is the rule and its absence a noteworthy exception. It was equally present in the two sexes.

"This muscle occurs constantly in the lower animals and serves an important purpose, but as we ascend in the scale it grows smaller and more rudimentary until in man it is generally stated to be absent or a mere fasciculus.

"Meckel is the only authority who regards this as a constantly present muscle. He states that it is sometimes absent but that this is rare. Every other anatomist is against him. Theile's language is especially emphatic. He says: 'I consider the absence of the small *psoas* as the normal condition in man. In over

twenty bodies where I have searched especially for it I have only found it a single time.'

"Holden gives its frequency of occurrence as once in eight or ten subjects, while Wilson, Quain, Cruoeilhier and others state in general terms that it is more frequently absent than present. Allen regards it as an accessory bundle to the great psoas. This may be true in the white but I hardly think it will hold true of the negro. The muscle is invariably fairly developed, with entirely separate and well defined points of attachment and having its own aponeurosis.

"I am inclined to regard the presence of this muscle in the colored race as a reversion toward the lower type of mammals, especially when taken in connection with other equally striking myological peculiarities and I trust that I may be able, by this note, to cause some one, whose opportunities will permit, to study carefully the comparative myology of the two races. From my own limited experience I am positive that a mine of information lies awaiting the explorer who shall uncover it and I hope that its treasures may soon be added to the literature of our science."

Darwin has said that "we have seen that the mental powers of the higher animals do not differ in kind, though greatly in degree, from the corresponding powers of man, especially of the lower and barbarous races; and it would appear that even their taste for the beautiful is not widely different from that of the *Quadrumanus*. As the negro of Africa raises the flesh on his face into paralled ridges 'or cicatrices, high above the natural' surface, which unsightly deformities, are considered great personal attractions;,"*—as

* Sir Samuel Baker, "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia" 1867.

negroes and savages in many parts of the world paint their faces with red, blue, white, or black bars, so the male mandrill of Africa appears to have acquired his deeply-furrowed and gaudily-colored face from having been thus rendered attractive to the female." *

And again "In Regard to Colour, the new-born negro child is reddish nut-brown, which soon becomes slaty-grey; the black colour being fully developed within a year in the Soudan, but not until three years in Egypt. The eyes of the negro are at first blue, and the hair chestnut-brown rather than black, being curled only at the ends." †

In short, as has long been known, in his physical organization the typical West Coast negro, whether living in Africa or living in America is as near the anthropoid apes as any of the savage races of mankind,—perhaps the nearest. He is untold ages nearer than is the typical representative of the best in the white race. Taken as a whole we may say the same thing of him, when we take his mental and moral qualifications into consideration. Further along in the present work I shall touch more fully upon these points than I intend to in the present chapter. Professor Keane has said some wise and true things illustrating this side of the negro character. He states that the mental differences between the negro and the white races are quite as well marked as the physical ones,

* Darwin, Chas. "The Descent of Man," pp. 540, 541. The comparison made here is an especially good one, and will be appreciated by any one who has had the opportunity to see the native Africans paint up their faces as I have, and wrinkle them up in the manner above described, and also to study the face of the African mandrill, a most remarkable simian.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 557.

"and as both are the gradual outcome of external conditions, fixed by heredity, it follows that the attempt to suddenly transform the negro mind by foreign culture must be, as it has proved to be, as futile as the attempt would be to suddenly transform his physical type." This is really the point that the untutored masses in the United States fail to see. Sometimes, however, a witty politician will say something on this line, and I heard a republican Congressman, remark upon one occasion that "the legislature could accomplish a great deal but it could not legislate the woolly kink out of the hair on a negro's head." The negro in fact has no morals, and it is therefore out of the question for him to be immoral — in other words he is non-moral rather than immoral. In speaking of the condition of the blacks in the Southern States in 1883 the Rev. Dr. Tucker is quoted as having said at the American Church Congress for that year, that he knew of whole neighborhoods "where there is not one single negro couple, whether legally married or not, who are faithful to each other beyond a few weeks. In the midst of a prayer-meeting I have known negroes to steal from each other, and on the way home they will rob any hen-roost that lies conveniently at hand. The most pious negro that I know is confined in a penitentiary for an atrocious murder, and he persists in saying he can see no offence against God in his crime, though he acknowledges an offence against man." [I believe the negro to be correct on this point, although it makes the atrocity of the crime none the less.]

Mention is further made of negro missionaries guilty of the grossest immorality, living in concubinage, addicted to thieving, lying, and every imaginary crime, yet

all "earnest and successful preachers, and wholly unconscious of hypocrisy. Their sins, universally known, did not diminish their influence with their race. It was impossible to doubt their absolute sincerity."

"A much darker picture," says Keane in his work on the negro, "is presented by the independent negro commonwealths of Hayti, for eighty years the scene of almost uninterrupted fratricidal strife."

Throughout the entire historic period of man's career upon earth the chapter on the negro is practically a record of the lowest savagery, soon lapsing back into mere tradition of wild and untutored tribes. People whose social institutions are at the lowest possible level, with an undiluted fetichism, with the worship of ancestors for a religion, coupled with torture, cruelty, slavery and cannibalism, and a common belief in sorcery. Where not checked by the presence of the European in the middle Congo Basin the native shamblers are still hung with the choice cuts of human bodies, and they continue to be sold in the open market place. (See APPENDIX, Note 1. Page 183.) Many of these people see their near relatives in the negroes of the United States. In Africa, they even barter their dead relatives, and those securing the corpses in this way eat them, and that with great relish (Stanley: *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. pp. 18, 19). They will even disinter them for the same purpose, and eat them after decomposition has set in. Those negroes who still practice this in Africa are several millions in number, and are the close blood relations of the race as we have them represented in the United States. To quote Professor Keane once more on the state of the African

negro, he says, "When visited in 1879 by Dr. Buchver, this potentate, [the muata yanvo of Ulunda] to impress his guest with his power, caused one of his subjects to assume the part of a chief just arrived from a remote province of the empire. The sham cortège of soldiers and women advanced to the throne all thickly plastered with mud from head to foot, and the "chief" approaching on all fours deliberately rolled himself in the sand at his majesty's feet.

The administration of justice is regulated not by any sense of right or wrong, but by the caprice of the king, who is himself often in the power of the navumbala, or witch-detector. Beyond what has been acquired from without, of letters there is absolutely no knowledge, unless an exception be made in favour of the invention or adaptation of a rude syllabic system some years ago by a native of the Vei tribe. Hence literature is purely oral, and limited to a few tribal legends, some folklore, proverbs, and songs of the simplest kind. The arts also are exclusively of an industrial character, and restricted mainly to coarse weaving, pottery, and the smelting and working of metals (chiefly copper and iron), agriculture, and grazing. Architecture has no existence, nor are there any monumental ruins or stone structures of any sort in the whole of Negroland except those erected in Soudan under Hamitic and Semitic influences. No full-blooded negro has ever been distinguished as a man of science, a poet, or an artist, and the fundamental equality claimed for him by ignorant philanthropists is belied by the whole history of the race throughout the historic period." Mark you,

Professor Keane says here "no full-blooded negro" has ever thus distinguished himself, and this fact cannot be denied. From an ethnological standpoint then, the place occupied by the West Soudan negro, and his relatives in the United States is now well known and clearly defined. He has been carefully studied by many minds fully capable of undertaking the task, and his status is not difficult of comprehension, as I have attempted to show in this chapter.

CHAPTER III

The Introduction of the Negro Into the United States.—The African Slave Trade.

PERSONALLY I know but little about the African Slave trade, though from my reading a number of very good and authoritative books on the subject, I am about as familiar with it as if I had been thus engaged myself. Early in the 60's my father was the American Consul General to the city of Havana, Cuba, and while there I not only saw and visited the African and coolie slavers in the harbor, but for two years had the opportunity of studying the treatment of the slaves on the island by their masters. The barracoons were a familiar sight to my eyes, and I have seen many a slave whipped both by the owner or by the government overseer. At Cape Haytien in Hayti, a year or so later I had the opportunity of studying what negro life was in a negro city—a city of Spanish and French building, but at that time, in its highly dilapidated condition, in the hands of the blacks who had previously gained it through an insurrection against their masters. During the Civil War I was in the South and have lived in a number of the Southern States of the United States since. I was a young warrant officer part of the time then, and in the service of the Federal Government. In fact, for forty years I have studied the African negro in America, in every situation ever occupied by a representa-

tive of the race, whether that representative was of pure African stock, a slave, a half or other fractional caste, or a freedman. I *know* the genus, and I know both the species and the subspecies, if for the nonce we may apply those zoölogical terms to the true types and the various intergrades of this race of beings.

Now, the existence of human slavery in one form or another in various parts of the world dates back to the very dawn of history. A list of all those who have been captured and forced into slavery in the career of mankind upon earth up to the present day would amount to many, many millions. An account of these untold millions of beings who have thus been enslaved, their histories, their lives, their deaths, and their fate afterwards would be one of the most awful descriptions imaginable. Filled to the brim and overflowing with the rankest injustice, the most wholesale and dastardly murders, tortures unspeakable, fiendish cruelties, slaughter, deception, unbridled lust, tyranny, and indeed, every crime both petty and capital that the mind can conceive of, or that the hand of man has ever committed when guided by the very lowest instincts of depravity and degradation. Millions of our own species have been dealt with in this manner, and make up such a death-roll. No part of human history can in any manner compare with it. Even the record of the endless murders and tortures committed in the name of Christ and Christianity pale when compared with it, and, as a matter of fact, the so-called Christian nations have in history been the chief ones who both supported, countenanced, and directly engaged in the African slave-trade.

England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and many

others were deeply engaged in it, but none of these countries more so than was America, and America's record in the slave-trade is quite as foul, shameless and abominable as that of any other nation on earth, during the time it lasted. In the present volume I shall have nothing to say of the subject of slavery in the far East, where in many places it still exists, as it does in many parts of Africa among the negroes, nor shall I refer, except ever so lightly, to the slave-trade of Great Britain and other European Countries which plied it. My main object in introducing it at all is to picture with the greatest possible clearness to the reader, the character of the negroes that were brought over to America as slaves; their mental, moral and physical natures; their sex; their numbers; the treatment they ^{all} received in the way of fitting them or unfitting them for colonization; and how the slave-trade was conducted and how it was brought to an end. Of all these questions the far most important one is, what kind of people; what kind of *stock* were these negroes? This point has been almost entirely ignored by the so-called twentieth-century leaders among the negroes in the United States. And, naturally so. This is seen both in their published works as well as in their addresses and teachings. A few exceptions to this rule, however, occur, and these exceptions are met with in the writings of those with very little negro blood in them. Such works are by no means tasteful to the authors of deeper dye.

So far as we can ascertain from recorded history the first African slaves landed in the United States, were brought there by the Dutch in August 1619. John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, was in Jamestown

at the time, and a part of the account of the affair has been preserved. In his diary we read that "a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars touched at Jamestown this year." Little more is known about it, and it is not even ascertained from what part of Africa these negroes came, or how they were captured.

The history of the American slave-trade, however, dates from this historical event. The Dutchman came there because on the high seas when he had his slaves on board he met with a Virginia ship, the *Treasurer*, and those aboard of the latter told him that they wanted slaves in Jamestown. Afterwards the *Treasurer* brought negro slaves to Virginia, and indeed she was the first ship fitted out for the slave-trade in this country. She had quite a history afterwards, and it has been very well told in the *Magazine of American History* (November 1891) by a writer of authority. In the year 1636 we see in the ship *Desire* the first craft built in the United States for the very purpose of plying in this nefarious traffic. Still other vessels landed them along the coast at various points, yet in 1643 not over fifty negro slaves had been imported into Virginia. Booker T. Washington the negro president of the colored institute at Tuskegee, Alabama, in his book entitled *The Future of the American Negro*, utterly ignores the introduction of the thousands, yes, tens of thousands, of slaves that were landed in this country during the *entire* slave-trade period, and makes the foolish attempt to hoodwink his readers by having them believe that all the negroes in the United States at the present time are descended from those constituting the first cargo brought to Virginia. He makes the statement thus: "The first slaves were brought into



Fig. 2. Type of young male negro (New York City). Photographed by the Author. Anterior aspect. The subject has tuberculosis of the lungs, so common to the race in America.

this country by the Dutch in 1619, and were landed at Jamestown, Virginia. The first cargo consisted of fourteen [*sic*]. The census taken in 1890 shows that these fourteen slaves had increased to 7,638,360 " (p. 4). That he meant this just exactly as it is said is proven by what he restates on pages 22 and 23 of the same book in the following words: "I know that whether the Negroes are increasing or decreasing, whether they are growing better or worse, whether they are valuable or valueless, that a few years ago some fourteen of them were brought into this country, and that now those fourteen are nearly ten millions." It is hardly worth while to say here that nothing of the kind occurred or has occurred. In the first place *twenty* of these African cannibals were first brought here upwards of two and a half centuries ago, instead of "a few years," and many, many thousands were added to them from 1619 to 1862, and that of the ten millions of negroes he speaks of as now being in the United States, not more than half of them are negroes but are mulattoes, like Frederick Douglas, Du Bois, and others.

I think William Hannibal Thomas in his excellent work on *The American Negro*, had good reason to say of him "he lies with avidious readiness, and in all moods and degrees of enormity, without undergoing the slightest remorse, and often without any apparent sense of prevarication. He lies to please, to evade, to conceal, to excuse, to assert, to command. He lies to be heard, and will not be silent, though he has no truth to utter" (p. 118). And of him again on page 121, "There is a cunning astuteness about the nature of a negro which renders him an adept in deception,

and consequently enables him to hide many of the shams of his life." (The Macmillan Company, N. York and Lond. 1901). What I have quoted here from Thomas occurs in the chapter on "Characteristic Traits" of the American negro, one of the best, the truest and soundest descriptions of the character of the average American negro it has ever been my pleasure to peruse. I believe the negro blood preponderates in Booker T. Washington.

*read
evidence
leading* Now, the colonists in first introducing the negroes into this country were to some extent inspired by religious motives. The superannuated "soul-saving" proposition was at the bottom of it, but the cloak in the course of time soon became woefully threadbare, to be finally converted into a ghastly shroud in no way concealing the decomposed and emaciated black cadaver, that might fitly stand for the emblem of the disgusting traffic from its inauguration to its death. Slaves, however, at first prospered in the colonies, and seeing this not a few attempts were made to enslave the indigenous red-men, but it was an utter failure. They were in every way unfit for labor, perished under the ordeal like sheep, and finally the attempt was generally abandoned.

In 1562 the then Anglo-Saxons entered the field as slave traders and they succeeded in their undertakings from the very start. Royal Companies were formed, treaties were drawn and ratified, and British slave-trade soon became a powerful institution (1713). "In those days," says an authority at hand, "the ship-chandlers of Liverpool made special displays in their windows of such things as hand-cuffs, leg-shackles, iron collars, short and long chains, and furnaces and

copper kettles designed for slaver's use. The newspapers were full of advertisements of slaves and slaver goods. The young bloods of the town deemed it fine amusement to circulate hand-bills in which negro girls were offered for sale. An artist of wide repute — Stothard — painted "The voyage of the *Sable Venus* from Angola to the West Indies." No doubt much of the same sort went on in the colonies, for New England soon took the lead in the slave-trade, and as it was a field full of adventure, cruelty, independence, chance for wealth, unlimited opportunity to gratify the sexual passions with a new and an enslaved race. To drink rum to one's fill, no end of the colonial Yankee boys of all ages plunged into it with avidity. Moore in his *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, says: "At the very birth of foreign commerce from New England the African slave-trade became a regular business," and Hopkins in his *Reminiscences* stated that in 1770 there were no less than 150 vessels belonging to Rhode Island alone in the African slave-trade, and that State was responsible for enslaving more of them than any other one in all New England. Newport, in fact, was started and built up on the African slave-trade almost entirely. England's wealth was largely involved in it, and beyond all peradventure, the slave-ship service brought to that country her renowned and hardy seamen.

drawing side

The famous Captain John Paul Jones, of the American Colonial navy gained his experience and his reputation along the same lines. He served in the fore-castle of the slaver *King George*. It was thus that this vile traffic,— fatal, murderous, and beastly trade, bred

sailors, merchants, priests, pirates, buccaneers, and every species of rascal and coward.

An average slave-ship was in those days one of about 500 tons burden; she had a length between 60 and 70 feet, and was built with due regard for speed and other qualities. Her storage capacity consisted in a capacious hold, in which rum, trinkets, powder, provisions, and slave truck were stowed away. There was an open upper deck, with a *space* between it and the hold, known as 'twixt decks. This space is where the slaves were quartered during the passage. It was less than *four* feet high, and in some slavers not much over two! In here,—this horrid death-pit, unventilated hole, rotten dungeon,—they packed away the poor negroes by the hundred. The men were usually forward, shackled together two and two. Negresses and children were aft and, though confined, were not chained. All of them were pushed along until they touched each other. In some instances they were *rammed in*, and compelled to lie spoon fashion during the entire trip of many weeks. In a little while the dead and the living were in there together,—linked together in the dark. Often death claimed three-fourths of them; hunger, burning thirst, and unmitigated misery had them all the time. They wallowed in their own filth, breathing an air pestilential in the extreme; while the women were raped and ravished to the hearts' content of the entire crew. Hundreds of such craft were at one time afloat, swarming the Slave Coast of Africa, taking all manner of chances, and conveying their human cargoes to the West Indies, to Europe, to the American Colonies, and to Brazil. Some fine ships were in the trade though but few of them steamers. Old

whalers were pressed into the service; sloops, brigs and brigatines. It was the money-making scheme of the day. Men would clear thousands of dollars on one trip. Slaves were landed all along the American coast by the hundred. The *Providencia* put 4500 into Brazil in four voyages. She was a steamer. Plenty of small crafts were in it, hardly bigger than small oyster-sloops. Some were notorious for their great speed, and in tight places they could down masts and use sweeps.

So far as the great slave-markets of the West were concerned during the entire time the slave-trade was considered legal, the chief and only source of supply was found, says a writer at hand "along the Atlantic coast of Africa, between Cape Verde, at the North, and Benguela, or Cape St. Martha, at the South. The sea here makes a great scoop into the land, as if the Brazilian part of the South American continent had been broken out of the hollow in the African Coast. Two great rivers and a host of smaller streams come down to the sea within its limits, and its contour, as a whole, is that of a mighty gulf, but there is neither bay nor inlet throughout its whole extent that forms a good harbor for shipping. And the off-shore islands, too, are few in number and small in extent. The land at the beach is almost everywhere low, even though hills and mountains may be seen, flooded with a dreamy haze, in the distance. The rivers wind about through uncounted channels in low delta lands covered with masses of mangrove and palm-trees, and haunted by poisonous and vicious reptiles. The yellowish sand of the sea and the black sand-washings of the uplands mingle to form low, tawny beaches and dunes where

the river currents are beaten back by the ever-present and ever-treacherous surf. Goree and Gambia, Sierra Leone and Liberia, the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra, Bonny and Calabar, Anamabae and Ambriz, the Congo and St. Paul de Loango, are all familiar names to the student of slave-coast literature." This was the field of operations on the African side,—a hot torrid sea; a practically unindented coast-line, washed by a most dangerous surf; an atmosphere reeking with disease; a dense, miry jungle and forest on landing, the very air of which was like breathing death itself; dangers from ferocious beasts and venomous reptiles, from hostile natives, in fact everything that places the life of man under such conditions and circumstances in jeopardy, while, beyond it all, lay the land of the vast unknown. More or less near in this latter lived the various races and tribes of black people, that furnished the slaves, the relatives and descendants of which are the close blood-relations of the negro stock, now commonly designated as the American negroes.

They were, and are still, the most savage, superstitious, and cannibalistic people on the face of the earth. In their supernatural religion of fetishism they see their world peopled with evil and malevolent spirits, at a constant war with nature and with themselves. Lightning, thunder, rain, reptiles, witches, beasts and birds of prey, the cowards and the cunning among their own or other races, were one and all under the control of malignant and antagonistic spirits. Hundreds of negroes in the southern States of North America, still believe in such things, and it is perfectly natural that they should, for, comparatively speaking, it is not



Fig. 3. Type of young male negro. Lateral view. Same subject as Fig. 2. Photographed by the Author.



so many years ago that they left their human flesh-eating relatives in the western Soudan.

As I have said before, these races of black people are not only superstitious and degraded to the last degree, but fearfully ignorant, non-progressive, and with a most meagre conception of the barest elementals in the science of civilization. Recorded history they have none, a fact that need no more surprise us, than that the great apes in their native forests about them have none, and for precisely the same reasons. This was the country and these were the people to which the slave-traders flocked and that furnished them their human freight to carry on their infernal, infamous traffic. The curse of rum had much to do with it. Both the slavers and the natives loved it, and by both it was gotten rid of and taken in large quantities. The whites drank it and they drank Madeira, too, when they could afford it, and moreover the rum was their medium of exchange, and the stuff that got the slaves for them, out of which the great fortunes were made.

Slaves were few and hard to get at first, the slavers having to purchase them from such tribes as had them for sale on the coast. Everyone considered the *trade* perfectly legitimate and honorable in the highest degree. One coast tribe of blacks being more powerful than a neighboring one, it would, upon defeating in battle the weaker one, capture a number of slaves, and these latter were disposed of to the slavers when they came for them. Not a few tribes were thus pitted against each other, and as time passed on and the victorious parties finding that they had a growing market for slaves, they began making their raids for no other purpose.

Slaves were principally owned by the chief men of the tribe where they were to be found; when it was otherwise, they had become enslaved for various offences to individuals. Not a few negroes were made slaves for debt; for seducing the wives of their neighbors; for handling a neighbor's fetish; and for a few other causes. These slaves were very well treated as a rule by their owners,—almost as members of the family. It was only after the white man came upon the coast that they began to increase in number, to be kidnapped and treated with diabolical cruelty, and slain by the score when the danger of discovery was imminent or where they mutinied against their captors or owners. However, the negroes often killed and ate their captured enemies and their slaves; sometimes they were butchered, burned, disemboweled and otherwise used as "sacrifices" on gala-days, jubilees, fêtes, the foundation of a juju-house, and similar festivals. If any one cares to read of the horrors of the customs and ceremonies of these black demons in their native land, and these customs are still in vogue, I can suggest no better book than *The Ethiopian*, by J. Cameron Grant (Chas. Carrington, Paris, 1900). This is a work that ought to interest any one and everyone in the United States who may be studying the negro problem in this country and its solution; who desires to know from what kind of stock our negroes are derived; and the length, breadth, and thickness of the terrible *black stain* we have soiled our racial record with,—a stain that unfortunately possesses innate properties for spreading. In a later chapter I shall touch upon this point.

In 1645 slaves were becoming more difficult to ob-

tain; the demand in the colonies for them was great and ever-growing; latent fortunes lay in the trade. Something must be done. So in that year when the Boston ship *Rainbowe* was on the Coast, she fell in with some London slavers that were there, and withal tired of waiting for a cargo. To enliven things the Londoners and the Yankees combined and on some pretence of a row with the blacks on shore, landed a howitzer called in those days "a murderer," and one Sunday morning raided a village, killing scores of the inhabitants and capturing some of them alive. Captain Smith of the Boston boat got *two* of these. He was *an American*,—proud of the feat, and his brilliant slaughter of innocent men, women and children; and further that he had been the first to teach the world how to obtain slaves in Africa without waiting so long on the Coast for them. In Boston this captain was tried on his return home, but of course the courts had no jurisdiction over any acts he may have committed on the coast of Africa, and so the charges against him of Sabbath-breaking, kidnapping and murder were dismissed. Both the slaves were sent back to Africa.

This case cleared the coast for all Americans who cared to go and do likewise. From a peaceful and orderly traffic,—as disgusting and as cruel as it was,—the slave-trade was soon enlarged by this added feature of open invasion of the negro territory with the view of slave capture. Shore stations were established soon thereafter, veritable hells of iniquity, so these shore attacks began to be far more frequent, and on an ever-increasing scale. Not only this, but the slavers instigated the coast tribes to make attacks themselves for the profit there was in it. Thus wars

were enkindled between the tribes of the coast and the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding all this and the hundreds of slaves captured, the supply by no means yet met the demand.

Captain Canot describes one of these raids in the following words:—“In my wanderings in Africa I have often seen the tiger pounce upon its prey, and with instinctive thirst satiate its appetite for blood and abandon the drained corpse; but these African negroesses [who were of the raiding party] were neither as decent nor as merciful as the beast of the wilderness. Their malignant pleasure seemed to consist in the invention of tortures that would agonize but not slay. A slow, lingering tormenting mutilation was practised on the living, * * * and in every instance the brutality of the women exceeded that of the men. I cannot picture their hellish joy, * * * while the queen of the harpies crept amid the butchery gathering the brains from each severed skull as a *bonne bouche* for the approaching feast.”

Those that were captured alive were sold on the coast, and the stories of these raids undoubtedly amused the American colonists when they were recited to them on the return home of the slavers. History goes to show that the United States was, at the time, quite familiar with all of these outrages.

English slavers were quite as bad in such matters, as evinced by the chapter of treachery and murder done in 1767 on the slave-ships *Indian Queen*, *Duke of York*, *Nancy*, and the *Concord*, when they were up one of the rivers on the slave-coast. Scores of negroes were induced to come aboard these four vessels for a pow-wow. After they were made nearly crazy with rum,

the crews armed themselves simultaneously for slaughter and capture. The scenes that followed almost defy description, and I am rather glad my space here will not admit of my telling the story.

Both American and English women engaged in the fascinating slave-trade upon their own account, and some even went to the Coast. Here they lived in the stations on shore or up the rivers,—those barbaric palaces of wealth, culture, ribaldry, sensuality, and blood-money mints. The home of Don Pedro was an example of these and his sister lived with him. He left the coast in 1839 with a cool million of money. Captain Philip Drake, in his *Revelations of a Slave-Smuggler*, describes another of these (January 5, 1840). These are his words:—"Da Souza, or Cha-Chu, as everybody calls him, is apparently a reckless voluptuary, but the shrewdest slave-trader on the African coast. Whydah was built by his enterprise, and he lives the life of a prince. His mansion here is like a palace, and he has a harem filled with women from all parts of the world. He keeps up a continual round of dissipation, gambling, feasting, and indulging in every sensual pleasure with his women and visitors. * * * His house is the very abode of luxury. He must squander thousands. But what is money to a man who has a slave-mine in Dahomey, bringing hoards of wealth yearly by a hundred vessels. Da Souza enjoys almost a monopoly of the coast trade. Blanco has been his only rival of late years. * * * This morning Cha-Chu met me and proposed to supply me with a wife. 'You shall have French, Spanish, Greek, Circassian, English, Dutch,

Italian, Asiatic, African or American,' he said, laughing."

In 1850 there were 244,985 slaves in the state of Louisiana alone, and Virginia was a breeding-place for many of them. Hundreds of them died because of the severity of slave-life; hundreds upon hundreds of them still continued to die on board the vessels that transported them to our shores; and untold numbers of others were murdered, or as incidental to attempts at capture, were destroyed.

The raids in Africa were carried a score of leagues inland, untold and unspeakable atrocities were perpetrated upon the natives in thousands of cases. No end of cruelty, no end of bloodshed, no end of diabolical torture was the order of the day. Although growing side by side with America's maiden efforts in a humane civilization, and the introduction of all manner of anti-cruel methods, the treatment of the African slave, nevertheless, from start to finish has simply been a picture long drawn out of hellish brutality, unbridled sensuality, and demoniacal practices. No other kind of cattle have ever been thus dealt with in the world's history. It is a panorama beastly of infamy.

Sometimes the cargo of negroes aboard the slaver mutinied; rarely were they successful, however, and here is a case where they were not. It occurred in 1844, aboard the American slaver *Kentucky*, which left the coast with 530 slaves aboard of her. They were in the hold and packed together as usual, chained two and two. The mutiny was quickly suppressed, but the captain decided to make an example of the ring-leaders, so he shot and hanged 46 of the men and a

negress. "When they were hung, a rope was put round their necks and they drawn up to the yard-arm clear of the sail. This did not kill them, but only choked or strangled them. They were then shot in the breast and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two that were ironed together was to be hung, the rope was put around his neck and he was drawn up clear of the deck, and his leg laid across the rail and chopped off to save the irons and release him from his companion, who at the same time lifted up his leg till the other was chopped off as aforesaid, and he released.

"The bleeding negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast, and thrown overboard as aforesaid. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way. When the feet fell on deck, they were picked up by the crew and thrown overboard, and sometimes they shot at the body while it still hung living, and all kinds of sport was made of the business. When the woman was hung up and shot, the ball did not take effect, and she was thrown overboard living, and was seen to struggle some time in the water before she sunk." And the deponent [one of the crew] further says that "after this was over they brought up and flogged about twenty men and six women. The flesh of some of them, where they were flogged, putrefied and came off in some cases six or eight inches in diameter, and in places half an inch thick."

In those days Polk was President of the United States, and James Buchanan Secretary of State. They both were appealed to in the strongest possible language to take a stand against the slave-trade, but, as Spears says in his work on *The American Slave Trade*,

"Neither James Buchanan nor James K. Polk, nor any other member of any administration from and including that of Andrew Jackson down to the Civil War, did anything that could in justice be called an effort to stop the use of the American flag for covering such atrocities." The slave-trade at that time had come to be the foulest, the rankest species of piracy, yet few there were who assailed it.

The profits of the slave-trade were simply enormous, *single trips* clearing as much as from \$20,000 to over \$40,000. These are *net* profits. In one case, the net profit made in six months by a small vessel amounted to \$41,438.54, and she succeeded in getting only 217 living slaves over.

In 1835, a Baltimore clipper, the *Napoleon*, made on one cargo a net profit of over one hundred thousand dollars; but such facts have but little to do with the object of the present work. They simply show the incentive that kept up the filthy enterprise, and made men blind to the trouble they were heaping up in this country for following generations to get out of the best way they could.

That many of the colonists long foresaw the evils that would some day come from the interbreeding of the blacks and the whites in the United States, there can be no manner of a doubt. Even as early as 1705, Massachusetts imposed a tax of £4 on each slave that came within her jurisdiction, and this was distinctly "for the Better Preventing of a spurious or mixt Issue." It was rather remarkable that the young Puritanic colonists of those days were so given to cohabiting with the captive black women and girls of a race of cannibals. They not only seemed to revel in



Fig. 4. Type of the Northern Mulatto. Photographed from life by the Author.

it, but those that sought such sable Venuses were so numerous, and so successful, that the *café-au-lait* progeny which began to appear in the population excited the alarm of the legislators of the State. It is a wonder that some of the Southern States did not see this pending danger likewise, especially at a later date when it must have been still more evident,—for be it known, South Carolina, for example, had in 1734 no fewer than 22,000 slaves against a short 8,000 whites in her limits. Possibly altogether as many as 400,000 negro slaves were, during the entire history of the slave-trade, brought to the United States from Africa. There may be 4,000,000 of *pure*, unmixed African negroes in this country at the present writing (1903), but of the remainder of the ten millions that writers on the subject talk about, they are half-castes,—hybrids produced by incessant crossing with the whites and chiefly in the Southern States.

It is easy to be imagined that from the time that the slaves were first brought into the country, up to and to include the time they were set free as a result of the Civil War, they were the cause of the framing and enforcing of no end of laws; of starting all sorts of legislation; of the formation of parties for and against the trade; of exciting the Church to action; of strife of many kinds and outbreaks of passion and speech. It is not the intention of the present work to pass into the history of this part of the subject. It is the darkest and most emphatically the dirtiest page in American history; and I must leave it to those who care to follow it along other lines. Indeed, enough would have been said in this chapter, had I stated the fact that the slave trade practically

began when the Dutch brought twenty of them to Virginia in 1619, and that upwards of four hundred thousand more of these black, benighted, densely ignorant, semi-simian, superstitious, lying and treacherous cannibals, were, up to 1862, in blood, cruelty and infamy, landed upon our shores by a lot of the most heartless, cowardly, piratical, shameless and fiendishly cruel mercenaries that ever plied the sea.

The entire traffic was horrid in the extreme and the injury it has done, and is still powerfully doing, those of Anglo-Saxon descent in these United States of America is, as proportionately compared with any benefit that has accrued from their introduction and subsequent propagation here, like unto a gentle morning shower on the surface of the Pacific,—the ocean the injury, the shower the good. In fact, the injury so far outweighs the good that the latter can practically be to a large extent ignored in the present volume. Indeed, the former so far preponderates over the latter, is so profound in its nature, and demands such explicit clearness in its handling and presentation, in all of its varied and scientific aspects, that I shall require every page of space I have remaining to in any way do it adequate justice. After another chapter or two that part of my task will be seriously entered upon.

CHAPTER IV

Biological Principles of Interbreeding in Man and Other Animals.

NO WELL-INFORMED and intelligent person will doubt for a moment, I think, much less question, anything I have thus far set forth in the three last chapters of the present volume.

Man's place in nature and the ethnological status of the negro are facts that have been just as completely demonstrated and settled for all time, as has been the further fact that between the years 1619 and 1862 many thousand negroes were imported into this country from the west coast of Africa; that some few of these are probably still living at the present writing, that over three millions of their actual descendants are together with several millions more of half-castes produced chiefly by interbreeding with the white race. All this stock now inhabits various parts of the United States, though principally what is known as the "black belt," that is, an area extending through the Southern States westward, in which direction their numbers gradually decrease, as they do more markedly as we leave Philadelphia coming northward. In other words, and in brief, man is just as much an animal as is an ape, a bear, or a mouse, and he is in every way quite as much amenable to those laws controlling his evolution, development, physical well-being, metamorphoses in his morphol-

ogy, and other conditions and changes as they are. The negro races of the West Soudan are cannibals, ignorant, superstitious, cruel, unreliable and non-progressive in every way, savages of the lowest types without a recorded history, and almost totally lacking in anything we refer to modern civilization, and it was from this stock that the negroes of the United States were derived within a comparatively brief space of time, so brief that it is highly probable that many of the near relatives of the negroes here in the United States are still living as cannibals in their own country in Africa. For example, male negroes brought to this country in 1860, when they were twenty-five years old, might easily have left living children behind them in Africa. It would make the fathers here some seventy years old, while their children in Africa would be in the prime of life, or all less than forty-five years of age. So far as I am aware, no single negro in this country has ever made any attempt to hunt up, so to speak, his or her relatives left behind in Africa. No such thing would ever have happened in the case of a white race. Even if it had ever been possible to enslave the latter, they would certainly have made a unanimous attempt to regain their relatives upon having been restored to liberty, and in all probability returned *en masse* to their own country. That the negroes in the United States have never made any attempts of this nature is one of the best proofs in the world of the extremely low position they occupy, in any sort of a classification, of the genus *Homo*. However this may all be, the truth has been set forth in the first three chapters of this book, and we now have all these negroes with us, and it next devolves

upon me to set forth in the present chapter something about the biological laws of interbreeding in man and in other animals. Following my subject logically as well as naturally, it is evident that this is the next question that presents itself for our consideration.

Within the last half-century or more so much light has been thrown upon all things that in any way relate to the origin of living forms upon this planet; their reproduction and multiplication; their development, growth, decadence and death; variation, the production of races, subspecies and species; natural selection, the survival of the fittest, and indeed, a score or more of other questions of the kind, that, with the abundant literature in the field upon such subjects, it would be quite superfluous to enter here in an argumentative way upon the discussion of any matters of this character. Much of it has now far outgrown the stage of hypothesis, and been relegated to the realm of law. The old superannuated Asiatic myth of special and miraculous creation has been long ago passed into the scientific waste-basket, and the story of the original pair, were they mice or of mankind, now figures in the minds of all informed people simply as a dogmatic pun, or a theological witticism. There is much that is transcendently beautiful in nature, and we see it throughout both the animal and vegetable kingdoms, as well as in the inorganic world, yet notwithstanding all this, and the surpassing beauties of the garden in which we live and die, there is much, indeed, nearly all in nature, that is ordered upon a scheme of the most fiendish and implacable cruelty. "I have, also, often personified the word nature," says Darwin, "for I have found it difficult to avoid this ambiguity; but I

mean by nature only the aggregate action and product of many natural laws,—and by laws only the ascertained sequence of events.” *

Some of the laws *in nature*, to which Darwin here refers are now as thoroughly appreciated and understood as are the facts in physics and astronomy. We no longer believe with the author of Genesis in the Christian bible that the earth is flat, and the sky a perforated crystal to allow the rain to come through, or that the rainbow was ever *placed* in the heavens for any reason whatever. We know much better than all this amounts to, and we know, too, that we have no power to alter any of the natural laws or the absolute conditions existing in life. We often hear it said that it is foolish for man to “tamper with nature,” and thus cause variability in forms, or change in conditions that may militate against his interest or do harm in other ways. To this extent alone can man tamper or interfere with nature, but this by no means implies that he can either cause variability in animal or plant forms or check or prevent it in its operation. The struggle for existence commenced as a law with the first spark of life on earth, and it has never ceased since, nor will it cease in its operation until every evidence of life in the world is absolutely extinct. So, too, with all the natural laws, as heredity, variability, natural selection, and others. They all came into force as life and form, however elementary, first appeared in the world, and they will never cease to act so long as living forms of any kind, either animal or vegetable, are in existence through which they may be exemplified. All that man can accomplish is

* Darwin, C., *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, Vol. 1, p. 17.



Fig. 5. Type of the Northern Mulatto. Photographed from life by the Author. Same subject as Fig. 4.

to produce variability in form by a change of environment and by crossing. But in doing this he cannot alter in the slightest degree any of the existing conditions, as climate, or any of the existing laws, as the laws controlling variability. Man may expose living forms of animals and plants to these existing conditions and laws, but beyond that his power ceases. He may cause, within certain limits, various forms of animals and plants to cross and reproduce other forms that differ in certain particulars from the parent ones, and so on down through successive generations. But his limitations here are equally exacting, for, in the first place, all animal forms, for example, are either not fertile *inter se*, or the copulatory act is impossible, as would be the case in a giraffe and a bat, or even when possible the two species cannot be induced to copulate, as would be the case in all probability in a wolf and a peccary. Let us consider a few examples to make my meaning still clearer. In the group of domestic pigeons we may select and cross certain varieties with the view of producing particular changes either in plumage or form, or both, and this selection and crossing may be persisted in until we have accomplished our object and produced the kind of birds we desired to manufacture. But we should have been absolutely powerless in our efforts here had it not been for the ceaseless operation of the natural law of variability and heredity to insure the gradual changes. I know of a variety of domestic pigeon which had been produced by artificial selection extending through a number of generations with the view, among other characters, of having the birds have as short bills as possible. So successful was the breeder that he obtained

pigeons with bills so short that they could not feed themselves, and the old ones actually had to be fed by hand, otherwise they would have soon starved. Again we have in this country certain aquatic batrachians called amblystomas; they are related to the tritons, salamanders and newts, and some people call them water-lizards, as they possess the general shape of a lizard and, in the case of the amblystomas, at least, they spend a certain part of their existence in the water. Now in New Mexico they have *Amblystoma tigrinum*, and when they are found in shallow water, or pools with light-colored clayey bottoms, the amblystomas themselves are of pale tints and this also may, to some extent, be due to their food. A number of years ago, when I was living in New Mexico, I captured a great many of these amblystomas, several hundred for the Smithsonian Institution, and others for a German lady who was experimenting with them in Berlin. I also experimented with them, as the amblystomas possess what may be termed very plastic organizations. I found that by keeping them in perfectly clear water in deep glass jars, and feeding them heartily for months on raw beef and nothing else, they changed very markedly in appearance, and besides they became of a deep *black* color, and in the course of time came to look totally unlike their kin in nature. This was a case where surroundings and food produced the variation, but the latter was due to laws over which I had no control, and, in fact, could not fully explain, yet I soon came to know that if I took from its natural environment in nature a pale brown amblystoma that was more or less slender and agile and desired to produce a stouter and more sluggish

one, of nearly or quite dull black color, all I had to do was to expose him to the conditions, and feed him, as I have just described, and I was certain to get the result. But the result responding to the treatment was always the same, and the variety produced was uniform, that is, under the same conditions and treatment, the amblystomas never became more slender in form and yellow or pink in color. As is now so widely known, and has been known for a long, long time, the same thing can be accomplished with flowers and plants of all kinds, as what I have just exemplified in the case of animals. In both instances we here do quickly what nature takes a long time to do, and breeders all over the world have been doing this sort of a thing for many, many generations. A great variety of flowers have thus been dealt with, with the view of producing odd and extravagant forms, with brilliant and attractive colors; fruits have been crossed, grafted and bred to improve their size and flavor and other desirable qualities. In the domestic animals, all sorts of crossing and selection have been resorted to, to accomplish a great variety of ends. Horses have thus been treated to improve their speed and form; cows in order bred for their milk; sheep for their mutton and wool; dogs for hunting, running and guarding; pigs for pork; and so on for many, many other animals, they having been bred to meet our ends. Darwin says, "Man, therefore, may be said to have been trying an experiment on a gigantic scale; and it is an experiment which nature during the long lapse of time has incessantly tried. Hence it follows that the principles of domestication are important for us. The main result is that organic beings thus treated have

varied largely, and the variations have been inherited. This has apparently been one chief cause of the belief long held by some few naturalists that species in a state of nature undergo change." It is quite a number of years ago since Darwin penned these words, and they are as true today as they were the time when they were written. All the intelligent naturalists of the present time not only believe that species in a state of nature undergo change, but they know that to be a fact. I desire the reader to ponder well upon the real significance of these facts, for a little further along I shall return to them again when I come to consider the question of their application in the case of man and the higher mammals.

When different breeds of animals are crossed, the laws of inheritance are ever in operation, and the results are seen in the morphology as well as in the traits, characters, and idiosyncrasies of the progenies of the succeeding generations. If too close interbreeding is practiced, sterility is often the result, and this condition also follows sometimes when the breeding animals have been removed from their normal habitats and food, and placed in widely different environments, climate, and subsisting upon other kinds of food. Having a sufficient number of animals to *select* from; and a knowledge of variability so far as we now comprehend it, with an understanding of the laws of inheritance, man can, if he chooses, produce great results. Nearly everything, however, in such experiments depends upon careful and scientific selection. Acting in this manner, we can, with greater or less certainty, produce within limits the forms we desire. If you want black cats with winning and docile natures,

you surely would not breed from white cats with cross and ill-tempered natures to get them. And, if you wanted black cats with an area of white on the chest, you would certainly select parents so marked, a dozen or more individuals, and by careful selection and not too close interbreeding, the desired marking will be produced in an ever-increasing proportion of cases. The same thing would happen in nature were such cats left to themselves to breed, and the white area on the chest proved to be a strong sexual and attractive character; but in such a case it would take ever so much longer, the balance of the environment being the same, and food and climate favorable. After studying thousands of such cases, Darwin was again led to say that "Man may select and preserve each successive variation, with the distinct intention of improving and altering a breed, in accordance with a preconceived idea; and by thus adding up variations, often so slight as to be imperceptible by an uneducated eye, he has effected wonderful changes and improvements. It can, also, be clearly shown that man, without any intention or thought of improving the breed, by preserving in each successive generation the individuals which he prizes most, and by destroying the worthless individuals, slowly, though surely, induces great changes. As the will of man thus comes into play, we can understand how it is that domesticated breeds show adaptation to his wants and pleasures. We can further understand how it is that domestic races of animals and cultivated races of plants often exhibit an abnormal character, as compared with natural species; for they have been modified, not for their own benefit, but for that of man."

Having now reviewed some of the better known principles or the laws of interbreeding in animals in general, we are in a position to apply these to the case of man. And, in the first place, it is well to note that every known biological or natural law having anything to do with organic evolution in its very widest sense, is just as applicable to man as it is to any other animal. This not only applies to normal growth, change and development, but to similar abnormal conditions, and to disease. It has been, and is distinctly now, the overlooking of this fact that has been the cause of any amount of misery, crime, disease, and the production of highly undesirable individuals in the human race the world over. Men and women can be bred by scientific, judicious selection and crossing with just as much care and quite as much advantage as are pigeons, chickens, dogs or horses, or indeed, as I say, any animal, ferine or domestic. Give me the proper material in the way of men and women, the absolute control of it, the time and the conditions, and with all the other necessary means to carry out the ends in view, and I can breed the stock to produce any kind of a man or any kind of a woman, within the laws of variability, heredity, and development. No single person could do this, for the reason that the time required would take all the way from three or four generations to a thousand, or even several thousand years, but nature cares nothing for time, and the same is true of artificial selection, breeding with the view of attaining a certain result. There may be simply hundreds upon hundreds of different kinds of the latter. We may breed men and women for giants or for dwarfs; for any colored hair,

eyes or skin; for long noses and flat feet; for immense buttocks, as the steatopygous Hottentot women; for flat heads; for a tail or the development of the caudal appendage beyond the general superficies of the body; for immense strength; for a complete covering of hair; for polydactylism; for enormous genital organs; for curiously shaped ears, and the elimination of all the teeth; in other words, make pointed-eared, edentate, wonderfully hairy, short-tailed, long-nosed bimanous vertebrates of them, presenting many other curious characters. By crossing them in various ways with the anthropoid apes, numerous other remarkable species could be evolved. Mankind, as I have intimated above, may be similarly dealt with, with the view of producing diseased individuals, and this may be carried so far, in the case of some diseases, that the virulence of the latter will wipe out the stock, and thus bring the experiments to a close. Again, we may breed men and women to produce singers, musicians, artists, mathematicians, criminals, sexual perverts, liars, fiends and saints, intellectual giants or brainless dolts,—anything, and just as we like. All it requires is scientific stirpiculture, close attention and time. Throughout mankind at present no such attempt, so far as I am aware, is being made to improve either mentally or physically a sex or a race in the manner indicated. In the lower races nature is having some play in the matter, but by no means always for the best. In the white races it is even far worse, and little or no heed is paid to careful mating with the view of race improvement or even with regard to the elimination of diseases and deformities. Here the process is exceedingly slow, and in the

vast majority of instances dame Nature blushes to look her growing progeny in the face. Brainless num-skulls cross with opium victims; mishapen dwarfs marry measly maids; insane idiots beget babies by besotted bums; in fact, it is all a purely haphazard performance, and done without any regard to giving fine physique, well-trained intellectual powers, and evenly-balanced, well-tempered characters any chance at all in the world. Much of the responsibility lies at the doors of priests and physicians, and they are traitors to the best and highest interests of the race. Upon the whole, the ancient Greeks were made of better stuff than the modern Americans, and the latter, of all the earth, have been the most disregardful of proper race-breeding. In fact, since the old colonial days, we have actually imported all sorts of stuff from all parts of the planet, and taken blood of all shades up into our veins by converting the United States into a kind of a procreation-pen, in which experimentation is going on, apparently with the view of observing how many different kinds of crazy creatures we can turn out! The criminal records in the courts of our large cities show the results; the grave-yards point to others; the hospitals, penitentiaries, insane-asylums, and no end of "charitable institutions" to scores of others. Still, it is not all bad. Improvements in sanitation, the rapidly growing interest taken in individual improvement in physique, in health culture, in the marvelous spreading of all kinds of knowledge; and many other similar features are all combining to do something; but all combined they are as nothing when compared with what might be accomplished in such directions in a few generations.

I have now another question to bring forward more or less akin to the one we have just had under consideration. It is this: if, through any cause or causes whatever, large numbers of one race are introduced into a region already occupied by large numbers of a totally different race, and the environment, climatic conditions and food is favorable to the support and increase of both peoples, those races are certain to fraternize, react upon each other in various ways, and finally interbreed. It matters not a whit whether one of these races is highly developed in every way, and the other a savage, and superstitious and ignorant one, they will still continue to cross and produce hybrids. In many thousands of instances, out of any number, it will be the *males* of the dominant race who will couple with the females of the lower race, while it will prove the marked exception that the reverse of this will be the case. The males of the lower race may occasionally seduce a female of the higher race, or they may succeed, in rare instances, in raping them, but all such cases will not amount even to a few in several thousands, where the males of the advanced race will easily succeed in seducing the females of the lower or savage stock. The reason for this is not far to seek, for the females of the higher types are, as a rule, most refined, more sensitive, far less passionate, and the mere suggestion of receiving the carnal approaches of a barbarian or a cannibal would be repugnant in the highest degree to them. No such sentiments control the males of the dominant race or the advanced and cultured race, however, with respect to seeking the females of the savage people. The pressure or demand to satisfy the

sexual appetite in the male, even if he be an individual endowed with great refinement and learning, often completely blinds him, renders him practically irresponsible in many cases, and the desire for variety coming into play, carries him over almost anything and he will have carnal intercourse with almost anything in the shape of a woman. Some women, too, are so constituted, or rather are similarly constituted, and when their passions are once aroused they are not inclined to draw any line for race, color or condition.

Black, brown, red or yellow skin make no difference whatever, and there will always be found plenty of representatives in the one race to cross with an equal number of representatives in the other. There will be large numbers of exceptions to this, of course,—the vast majority of the females of the advanced race will not interbreed with the males of the lower race, and in the case of the males of the former, many will be found who will likewise shun such intercourse, controlled either by the emotion of sentiment, the feeling of disgust, the domination of self-respect, or a feebleness of the passionate appetite, and for other reasons. Still the interbreeding will go on with marked increase during certain periods, and may largely fall off at other times. These fluctuations will be due to various causes, but it will nevertheless always be progressing in some degree or other, and a hybrid race be continually produced. War, social and political privileges and restrictions, the gradual degradation of the *morale* of the higher stock, and the increasing push and effrontery of the lower, will, with several other reasons, all exert an influence, but, as I say, nothing will entirely check it. It very soon becomes

impossible to separate the two races; a system of fines, however large the amount imposed in cases, would have but a slight deterrent effect; the whipping-post or other tortures would perhaps be more efficient; but I do not believe that even the death sentence as a penalty would be wholly effectual in preventing it. In fact, sometimes the very danger to be met lends a zest to the attempts to gratify the demands of the sexual appetite and men will seek it and attain it, even with their life in their hands. It is the nature of the animal, and it obtains throughout nature. What would be needed is a thorough comprehension of the entire subject in its wildest sense, and then action accordingly. But a thorough as well as a far separation is, as a matter of fact, the only preventive for interbreeding, when two races come to occupy the same area of country under the conditions I have above pointed out. This may be highly impracticable, but never impossible.

*This
been
and
not
that
and*

It is clear from what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs of the present chapter that we have, in the case of the negroes in this country, a typical example on a very large scale of the introduction of a large number of representatives of one race into an area occupied by a large population representing another and primarily distinct race. History furnishes nowhere a better example of the kind than this, and in so far as the two races are concerned, they were initially as distinct as they could possibly be. As is well-known, one race, the imported one, was as black as black could be; they were as low and as superstitious a race of cannibals as the world has ever known. Cruel and ignorant they, in their mental and physical organizations, came

*more
low
best*

nearer the anthropoid apes than any other known group of people. The word civilization had no meaning for them; their unrecorded history reached far back into the hazy epochs of savagery. On the other hand, the advanced race, the preoccupiers of the soil upon which subsequently these two races fraternized, represented, in part at least, some of the best stock that had developed in the Old World. They were in reality the seeds of a coming nation, a nation destined to take its place later on as one of the most powerful, most advanced, and most highly civilized nations on the face of the globe. Hundreds, nay, thousands of the former, the blacks from the West Soudan of Africa, were interspersed among these in a manner already described in a former chapter. The crossing of the two races commenced at the very outstart of the vile slavery trade that fetched them hither. Indeed, in those days many a negress was landed upon our shores by her captors already pregnant by some one of the demoniac crew that made up the company of the slaver that brought her over. It is quite likely, too, that many of these negresses were pregnant by blacks in Africa at the time of their capture; some of them died in this state aboard the slavers; others gave birth to their children on the passage across the Atlantic; many were murdered prior to the birth of their children, did the exigencies of the trade demand it. Some, upon being disposed of at the end of the passage, were also carrying unborn children, and, I dare say, were considered to be more valuable upon that account, just as a blooded mare is that has been successfully lined by a high-bred and pedigreed stallion. However this may all be, there is no question

in the world that from the earliest time that the negro slaves came into the United States, and during all their years of slavery, and during all their years of freedom, up to the present writing, the negresses of that race have borne untold thousands of children to representatives of the white race in this country; in a far, far less proportion of instances females of the white race have borne children to pure-blooded negroes, though a much greater number have to mulattoes or the hybrids of lighter tints.

By far the vast majority of these births have occurred in the "black belt" of the Southern States, although in slave days, and even now in such cities as Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and a score of others to the northward, the males of the white race have not been behind-hand in increasing the vital statistics along these lines. Many of the mulattoes thus produced had some of the very best white blood in the country in their veins, while, in many, many instances, the negro mothers adopted the name of the family that owned or employed them, and by some of the male members of which they had borne children. Cases are even on record where negresses in bearing twins, one of the children would be white and one black, an instance of the kind I have in my mind, the husband had first impregnated her, and a few hours afterwards, her master. (See Flint's Text-book of Human Physiology, p. 895.)

As the years rolled by and time passed on, the effects of all this became painfully visible. As nature never has and never will concern herself about man's interests, however vital man himself may consider these interests to be, she did not in this matter of race

interbreeding, and every child that was born was born with every cell in its body occupying its position according to the immutable laws of heredity and variation. Hence the features and entire organization of each and all of those children responded to the aforesaid laws, just as they do in the case of any other animal, and each came to be the very kind of being, in all particulars, that the operation of those laws would produce, no other organization in any particular instance being possible. The same may be said for the innate mental and moral potentiality of any particular child. Of course, during the development and growth of any being from the moment of birth onwards to the close of its career, it may, to some extent, in a certain proportion of cases, and more or less in others, from a variety of causes, be subject to being molded and changed both mentally, morally and physically. In other words, when a child is born to a pure negro mother by a white man of fine birth and qualities, that child is, according to certain fixed laws, prenatally stamped with certain morphological, psychological, mental and moral characters, no particle of which could possibly have been different under the particular parental combination, however that child may come to be molded afterwards, either for good or for bad. The knowledge we have of inherited prenatal impressions of all kinds that children receive is extremely meagre and wonderfully hazy in its character. No one today can tell why a child resembles one parent more than another, or perhaps a grandparent more than either; or how it *grows* to become more or less like some member of the family, or perhaps some of its ancestors. Yet all such things

are controlled by laws, by causes and effects, and by circumstances and conditions, the nature of which we hardly know anything about, though we do know that the produced organism, in the form of the particular child could not have been, even to the last atom in its composition, other than it was or turned out to be, from the various forces in operation to produce it. At any particular instant in the life and career of any adult there is always an exact reason why he or she has such and such features, such and such an organization, such and such traits of mind and character, and so on to the ultimate composition of the entire being. There is no matter of chance in all this, we are all resultants at any instant of our lives of certain laws, causes and effects, and could not be otherwise than we are even if we tried ever so hard to be so. In the next chapter I shall touch more fully on this question as it bears upon hybridization, and point out a little more clearly why it is that in so many white people in our Southern States one can so frequently recognize a faint, subtle feature of the Ethiopian type in their faces and forms.

CHAPTER V

Half-breeds, Hybridization, Atavism, Heredity, Mental and Physical Characters of Race Hybrids.

IN THE present chapter it is my intention to deal quite fully with the question of hybridization, and race hybrids in nature, and discuss to some extent the little we know about them. Most of my remarks will be confined to hybridization as exemplified in the human race in general as bearing particularly upon the special subject with which the present volume is concerned, and that is, the hybridization of the Africans and the whites in the United States of America. Very considerable attention has been paid to it in times past, and it is receiving a large share of attention at the present time, that is the whole matter of breeding in the domestic animals and in fruit, flowers and vegetables used by man. But as I have before remarked, little or no attention is being paid to the successful breeding of mankind. We know a good deal of the laws governing the production of hybrids, of artificial selection and evolution, development and the rest, but we take no effectual steps to utilize them in our own case. In other words, at the present time, race improvement with us is purely a matter of chance, and in some great movements in which it has been profoundly involved, we have been quite blind as to the results, and quite deaf to the teachings of nature.

In the case of the human race, interbreeding between different peoples is going on all over the world, as I write these lines. The crossing of species of men of all kinds is not only a fact of the present day, but it has taken place in various quarters of the globe as far back as history carries us. It was much rarer in early times than it is now, for the reason that the earth was not so thickly populated as it is now, nor were the means of general travel anything like as perfect as we have them today. When the various races and tribes of men were far more distinctly separated, and great stretches of uninhabited wildernesses or bodies of water were to be found isolating their habitats, and the means of communication were extremely slow and limited, the several stocks were far more pure and unmixed. It is ease and rapidity of communication, and enormous increase of population, with the various habitats becoming overcrowded and thus crowding each other, that affords the constant opportunity for race crossing, and the more pressing and evident that these conditions become, the greater is the amount of cross-breeding among the peoples so situated. Under such conditions it is certain to take place, and just as certain to be followed by the appearance of half-breeds where it is going on. It matters little what races are thus brought in juxtaposition, crossing to a greater or less extent will occur. This will the more frequently be done without the law of marriage than within it, although intermarriage, too, under such circumstances, will be far from uncommon. In the city of New York the Chinese men, here in this country from China, have often married white women of their own station in life, and the crossing

of the Caucasians, using that term in its widest application, with the Japanese has been very frequent in times past, and constantly on the increase in this day and generation. I have had the opportunity to study a few of their half-breeds, and in one family I have at present in mind, some of the children were of the Anglo-Saxon type, more or less resembling the father, while one boy, at least, more strongly exhibited the Japanese in his general morphology and traits, or, as they say among breeders,—favored his mother, who was a pure-blooded individual of the latter nation. No one will suppose for a moment that of the enormous stock of people that have for years past been pouring into the United States from the Old World, and I mean from Europe especially, invariably remain distinct, for by no means is such the case. They not only cross, whether through marriage or otherwise, with people who were born and bred in America, but they intercross among each other, and with the negroes, Indians, and Chinese if it takes their fancy. This is going on far more extensively than most people are aware, and but few people will admit. In conversation with a very intelligent German gentleman the other day, a man of fine education, intelligence and family connections in Germany, where he was born, he informed me that he very much preferred congress with a fine, good-looking black negress, than with any white woman he had ever known, and from all accounts, he had not been backward in such matters all his life. There are no end of half-breeds produced by the crossing of the whites and the North American Indians on the plains. During the Indian campaigns in that country it was of very frequent oc-

German rec'd. 11/16/1968

currence for both men and officers to keep Indian squaws, and in not a few instances they married them. Of such progeny I have seen not a little, and it has always struck me that they made neither desirable men nor women, the poor qualities of the two races being intensified, and the good ones subordinated. So far as my observation has carried me, the white woman will submit to intercourse with a full-blooded Indian with far better grace than she will to coitus with a typical negro,—there is something intensely repugnant in the very idea of the latter act, while it would appear that a species of romance enters into the first-named coupling. Indians ^{as a rule} possess, as a rule, strong sexual instincts, and I have ~~seen~~ ^{known} many a young Sioux squaw ^{only} that was by no means unattractive.

In this country but a small per cent. of the half-breeds, the outcome of the crossing of whites and negroes, whites and Indians, and whites and Chinese, is through the institution of marriage. The great mass of them, especially in the case of the whites and the negroes, are the outcome of chance crossings, and the children are legally considered illegitimate. On the other hand, it is through intermarriage that we have a growing offspring in the United States from the intermarriage of the representatives of the various European nations that have made America their home. Many checks, however, occur here, as for example, the Jews usually marry only within their own race, so, too, the Scandinavians, and some of the others. Religion may have something to do with it, as Catholics are more or less clannish in this respect, and everything else being equal, Catholics select Catholics as mates in marrying. Still, it seems to me that, taking

people the world over, the strong tendency is toward the unification of all the races, and the outcome in time will be complete amalgamation, and but a single, homogeneous species of men will inhabit the earth. A few thousand years, fifteen or twenty, for instance, will be sufficient to effect this, while in the meantime many of the remnants of races still in existence will die out, others will become extinct in time, and war, intermarriage, the struggle for existence, and extermination will do the rest. Thousands of such changes have taken place in nature already, requiring an untold number of years, so the unification of the human race would be but a bagatelle as compared with similar developments that have taken place on the globe in past time. In this connection, consider for a moment the evolution in that pedigree of now extinct animals that finally resulted in the production of the modern horse,—the earliest known ancestor of which was no bigger than a fox. Man's career is surely tending toward unification for the very reasons I have given above, and it is only through what can be accomplished by artificial selection that we have remarkable and distinct species resulting, as in the case of domestic dogs and pigeons. Many of the forms of either of these would be considered as belonging to distinct genera, and perhaps even distinct subfamilies, were we to meet with them in the wild state. Surely no mammalogist of the school representing the biological division of the United States Department of Agriculture, would for a moment think of retaining a Scotch greyhound and a hairless dog of Mexico in the same genus, were they to encounter those two species in a ferine state. Both of them belong to the *Canidæ*, of course, but I warrant

that the "hair-splitters" would quickly make two distinct genera of them. The fact that they are fertile *inter se* would constitute no barrier to such an arrangement, for we have no trouble in crossing jungle fowls (*Gallus*) with Guinea hens (*Numida*), any more than we have in crossing the most refined and intelligent Anglo-Saxon in existence today with the most savage negress on the banks of the Congo, or, for anything we know to the contrary, with a female chimpanzee. I have seen the hybrids between *Gallus* and *Numida*, as well as the half-breeds from the latter crossing, barring, however, the anthropoid last mentioned.

In all such hybrids we can see with greater or less distinctness the laws of heredity carried out. Hybrids, the results of the crossing of individuals representing different races of men, as in the case of whites and negroes, often exhibit hereditary characters and traits in the most interesting manner possible. Sometimes, however, where they are inherited from remote ancestors, they may be very obscure as to their origin. Then, too, they may be so mixed and massed that we can tell very little about them. There is no trait, habit, organization, disposition, nature or anatomical or physiological character that may not be inherited down a line of related individuals from generation to generation. Pathological conditions or predispositions may likewise be passed down in a similar manner, as may also deformities or, at least, abnormalities. Certain talents, gifts, abilities and inclinations, and idiosyncrasies often pass down through families with a similar certainty, and crop out in individuals in the most peculiar and unexpected way sometimes. In their main trend, however, all of these are governed by

laws as immutable in their operation as the most fixed laws in all nature. The matter of chance never enters the result in the case of any individual, be he black or white. In the main trend again men breed true to their race, their stock, and the lines of their family ascent. In investigating the attainments, accomplishments and achievements of any line of pure-blooded and unmixed negro stock, we shall no more chance to find members in it who are, or have been, distinguished biologists, physicians, or artists, than we do, when we come to make similar researches in any first-class Anglo-Saxon pedigree, meet with semi-transformed cannibalistic savages, superstitious religionists, and natural criminals as we do in the case of the negroes.

*ample
be
lost* Any number of people can be found in this country today who will stoutly deny, and they believe what they say, too, that there is any interbreeding going on at all between the blacks and the whites, and that the numerous mulattoes we see are due to the effects of *can
all in
fine
18, 77* climate. Such people are, of course, absolutely blind as to what is going on directly about them; they are ignorant, and they do not care to see. Take the city of Washington, for instance, I can remember distinctly thirty-five years ago, when a mulatto in the streets of that place was, comparatively speaking, the rare exception; while they are to be seen there now simply in scores upon scores. Some of them are so white, that it takes a very keen eye to detect the Ethiopian blood in them. Some are wonderfully handsome creatures, with superb figures, but handsome and fine-physiqued only in the sense that our American skunk is likewise a beautiful creature. It is also a black animal with more or less of a white stripe in it, that is given to stealing *under*



Fig. 7. Types of negro children in the United States.
(From a recent photograph.)

Whitey

I wish some magic would allow
By charm or craft .. don't matter how
You stay 'jus' lak you is right now
Alah kil Touzle Heads!

chickens, and can, when irritated, elevate its tail and raise the most outrageous stink, which is quite sufficient to check the progress of any Anglo-Saxon, however robust and civilized he may be. But neither the mulatto nor the skunk are personally responsible for the kind of animals they are, or as to the odors they are capable of emitting.

These half-breed negroes in the United States, or, in fact, all that class of people having any negro blood in them at all, are extremely objectionable factors to add to our nation or risk in the building up of our civilization. They often, indeed in a large proportion of instances, are worse than the typical negroes themselves, and certainly a large number of them are no better. They are dangerous from whatever point man may elect to view them, as they may possess all of the vicious and sensual traits of the negro, without the color of the latter's skin as a warning flag to the unwary. In any question at issue they will invariably choose sides with the colored race every time, and from their keener wits and higher intelligence are capable of giving a greater amount of trouble. Mulattoes, too, have better opportunities to contract white alliances in marriage, and thus insidiously pass the savage Ethiopian blood into the veins of the Anglo-Saxon or American. This is most deplorable, for, as I have frequently remarked, the negro has absolutely nothing in his organization that can be added to our own with the slightest value, while on the other hand, nearly everything about him, mentally, morally and physically, is undesirable in the highest degree. As has been shown, he is, as a rule, deeply imbued with criminal tendencies, and his hybrids are equally so.

tryk.
Yo
more!
always

Mulattoes have no higher sense of our civilization than the black stock from which they are derived. They are, however, in speech, manners, dress and actions better mimics of the whites than most of the true negroes. Personally, I have found them equally superstitious, treacherous, mendacious, and unreliable. It is the better class of hybrids, however, that command such place and position in this country that demand more than usual ability to fill. Many regard them as the *colored* doctors, the colored lawyers, colored clergymen, colored poets and authors, and so on, whereas, as a matter of fact, they are nothing of the kind. They are *hybrids*, nothing more nor less, and often with a very minute tincture of the African negro in them. Some of them are so like Caucasians in face and figure, that were they to go abroad, to Europe, for example, the *average* European would never for an instant suspect the negro blood in them, and it would only be that person well versed in the negro character and with a knowledge gained by long contact with the race, that could make the correct ethnical diagnosis. I refer distinctly to such specimens as Henry Ossawa Tanner (artist), Daniel H. Williams (surgeon), Charles Waddell Chesnutt (novelist), Francis James Grimke (clergyman), and likewise (W. E. Burghardt) Du Bois (sociologist). When the type is more pronounced, there is no mistaking them, as the negro then crops out with greater certainty. This is the case with such examples as Paul Lawrence Dunbar (poet), Kelly Miller (mathematician), Granville T. Woods (electrician), Edward H. Morris (lawyer), Booker T. Washington (teacher), and several others. Negroes claim one and all of these as representatives of their

race in America, and a man like Du Bois is continually howling about them one and all in the press as the *Advance Guard of the Negro Race in America*.

Mendacity, thy name is negro, for surely these are not negroes, but they are very convenient types in this country for the great admirers among the whites of the negro race in the United States, as well as the negroes themselves, to juggle with and to deceive the thoughtless into believing that the negro is making such vast and rapid progress among us. As a matter of fact, what he is doing is only through hybridization and crossing with the whites whenever the opportunity offers, with the view of furthering his own selfish ends and jeopardizing the nobility of the Anglo-Saxon and the civilization of which he is the author. (See APPENDIX, Note 2, p. 188.)

Men like Thomas, who is about one-sixteenth part negro, prejudice this entire question in their published books and writings. I refer especially to this author's last work, a most able production in many particulars. (The American Negro; what he was, what he is, and what he may become. A Critical and Practical Discussion by William Hannibal Thomas. The Macmillan Comp., Lond. and N. York, 1901.) He has shown the negro race in its true ethnological light. He supports all that I have said above in regard to the characteristics of hybrids; he deplores the presence of the negro and his kin in this country, he advocates his intellectual upraising and civilization with the same pen that he points out its utter futility and impossibility. These several inconsistencies and incongruities he clinches by the last, and perhaps most truthful paragraph in the book, when he gives it as his opinion that

"The future American negro will part, undoubtedly, with many of his racial characteristics as he approximates in color and conduct the white race. Even now many persons of negroid ancestry are so fair in color that they readily pass for white people, and marry among that class without exciting the slightest suspicion as to their mixed race identity. Furthermore, white American marriages are constantly contracted with every variety of the colored races, and the fruit of such unions is certain to exert, hereafter, a considerable influence upon many existing social perplexities. The inevitable outcome of a perfect blending of our heterogeneous peoples would be the development of a composite type of American people of incomparable strength and beauty, who, if they clung fast to their best ethical instincts, would attain such heights as would make our country what it was ordained to be,—the cradle of world-wide liberty, the citadel of human fraternity, and the seat and centre of universal righteousness."

Without exception, I think this is the most outrageous and vilest proposition that has yet been made on the part of any one as a solution of the negro problem in the United States. It is surely deplorable enough to know that this is without doubt what is actually now taking place, but to have a writer of Mr. Thomas's ability arise and suggest that such a course be encouraged and sanctioned is absolutely heinous and damnable. I can conceive of no greater calamity that could happen to my people, to my race in this country than this. We have here at least a certain proportion of the population who can call themselves true Americans—a race that, although it came from the

Old World, and is a composite stock of the Old World, has arrived at a stage of civilization unexcelled by any other nation in the entire range of history. This civilization speaks for itself, and it is not necessary for me to dilate upon it here, and it is this civilization, the building up of which has taken thousands of years that Thomas would have now jeopardized by the injection into it of a poison so foul and so hopelessly stagnant that whenever or wherever it mixes with it, the rottenness of the result is only too apparent. I refer distinctly to the continued and systematic crossing of the negroes and whites in the United States of America.

Has Mr. Thomas ever seen a case of atavism in this country resulting from the very interbreeding he so extravagantly proposes? I have,—several of them. Permit me to give an account of one that a few years ago came under my personal notice. A young American artisan of the better class and of excellent type, born of parents born in this country, and with blood untainted by any mixture with African blood, meets a young and very pretty girl in Virginia, and in due course marries her. At the end of a year a boy child is born to them, but, horror of horrors, it is found to be as black as a coal and with hair as kinky as the veriest young Congo that a negress of that race ever gave birth to in Africa. I imagine the state of mind this at once threw the unhappy husband into! His poor young wife pleaded with him that he was the only man on earth who had ever sexually embraced her, and that the very suggestion of receiving the carnal approaches of an African were most repugnant and

disgusting to her. But the husband knew there must be a cause for it, as he was present in the room when the black child was delivered, and quietly he went to work to investigate the wife's antecedents. After no end of trouble and expense, he finally ascertained that her great grandmother was a plantation slave who had borne several children to her master. It was in this stock, then, through crossing and re-crossing with other whites, that this young wife saw her pedigree, and her first child was simply a reversion to the black ancestry on her maternal side, and had inherited the Ethiopian characters, and among them the black skin and kinky hair. I have heard of several other well-authenticated cases of this nature, and in one, after a most heart-rending experience, the couple were divorced.

bro. impossibility

All this is what is happening now, and what Thomas would have made general throughout the country—that the descendants of the civilized races of Europe and elsewhere point the finger at the descendants of the American of the present time, and say, “Go to, American, you have nigger in your blood, and you come from a mixed race, a large part of which were formerly eaters of human flesh, thievish liars, and slaves. You talk to hear yourselves talk.” Those European descendants, moreover, could say to our descendants, and say with truth, the latter having Thomas’s prescription of black blood in them,—“American, if you want to know something of your pedigree, your history, read J. Cameron Grant’s *The Ethiopian*, and read the ceremonies attending the erection of the sacred Juju House in the kingdom of

Gnongo, from whence your black blood came. It commences on page 33, and runs thus: "The king of Gnongo ruled a small but very powerful and very populous country, and was the terror of all his neighbors to the North and West by reason of the number and ferocity of the slave-raids that started from his dominions, and were almost invariably successful. The whole religion of these people necessitated attacks upon their neighbors, for its basis was constant human sacrifice, and the simple law of self-preservation taught the Gnongos, for their own safety, always to keep at hand a goodly supply of the necessary victims. The true history of the place would be a dismal record of ruthless and brutal doing to death of human beings, often apparently for no reason whatever except to satisfy a ghoulish craving for the sight of human blood flowing fresh, or blackening, clotted and nasty in the open, in the town, in street, in square, in court-yard—nay, upon the very household utensils themselves.

"On this, the third day, were to be erected with all the proper ceremonies the six main uprights of the new Juju House. The reason, or even the simple mythology of these acts, it is hopeless to expect; one might as well hope to learn the mythology of monkeys; though verily, I believe, the daily annals of a collection of the higher quadrumana would be more sane and cleanly and far less bloodthirsty than those of the baser, lower bimana.

"But now it was time for things to begin, and as etiquette, dangerous to evade, constrained all to take part in the ceremonies fasting, so far as a solid meal

was concerned, all real eating and drinking had to be deferred till the proceedings of the day were concluded.

“There appeared to be no regular commencement, but, seemingly by a kind of general impulse, drums began to be beaten, horns blown, and trade muskets discharged in the air. Then cows’ horns, filled with powder and tamped with clay, were fired off with a thundering report and considerable danger to the neighbors, and, with the exception of the king, who practically never appeared in public, and of his immediate attendants, the whole population of the town flocked to the spot where the ghastly preparations were already well advanced.

“The priests and the warriors and women gathered in a great circle round the pits; the slaves who had carried the victims from the town, bound hand and foot to poles and rolled in cheap calico, at a sign came forward and laid them two and two beside each excavation, one man and one woman to each. Cutting the lashings that secured them to the poles, they took these away. Then one of the priests began a sort of exhortation to the people, telling them that the king had graciously given orders for the erection of a new Juju House, which would be for the general benefit; then, after animadverting upon the crucifixions of the young women that had taken place two days previously for the prevention of famine and drought, he referred to the head-cutting of the day before, and declared that the auguries drawn from the positions in which the heads had fallen had been most favorable, that the posts of the Juju House were about to be set up in accordance with them, that the heads would be

fixed upon the building, and would bring great luck, and, to prevent and minimize occurrences of such evil omen for the coming year, those women who had borne twins in his majesty's dominions during the year gone by would now be buried alive in the hole in the centre of the house, over which, when a proper dwelling-place had been provided, a most powerful Juju would preside. He ended by saying that the king had given orders for a great feast to conclude the three days' proceedings, and that his royal bounty had provided for his people a more than usually liberal dole of rum and palm wine.

“He finished amid the frantic applause of the crowd and more discharging of muskets and banging of drums.

“Now the warriors got into some sort of order in front and began to chant a monotonous song or hymn, to which the women marked a rude time by grunting at regular intervals and slapping their arms, breasts and thighs.

“While this hideous anthem was being sung, the executioner and his assistants seized the victims two and two as they lay, male and female, and binding them face to face, pitched each couple into the long holes lying ready excavated beside them. This done, he and his daubed and painted assistants, in all their disgusting paraphernalia of charms and bones, began to dance about the pits, rattling hollow calabashes full of small nuts and seeds, and partially drowning the groans and screams of agony that proceeded from the wretched beings below.

“But now arose the cry of “Rice-pounders! Women! O, women, bring your rice-pounders! Let

the family be fruitful and the year give many slaves! Women! O, women, bring your rice-pounders!"

"These words were shouted and yelled by the warriors, but promptly taken up by the whole crowd, which, wild with excitement, began to stamp and dance with gyratory motion about the spot occupied by the executioner and his assistants.

"Several scores of women had rushed off to the town at the first words, and were now streaming back, each one armed with her rice-pounder, of hard, heavy wood, about three inches in diameter and six feet long, shod with iron at the lower end. As they came up they were speedily arranged in rows round the pits, and at a given cry from the warriors and the crowd of "Now, O women, pound the sacred rice to feed the gods!" they commenced pounding away with their formidable rammers at the wretched creatures below.

"The piercing shrieks that immediately rent the air soon ceased, and soon, save for a low groan or two, no sound rose from the blood-stained mortars except the monotonous beat-beat of the horrid pestles.

"But while the women pounded, the people and the executioners yelled and danced till the excitement attained a frantic pitch. Then, suddenly closing in, the crowd seized the great pillars lying on the ground, hoisted them up by main force of arm, and, planting each one in the centre of the gory mass below, filled in the loose earth and stones about them.

"Not till the earth was packed hard round the pillars and level with the surface of the surrounding soil did the women cease their ghastly labour. Then they stopped, exhausted, and rolled about, many of them apparently afflicted with a species of epileptic frenzy.

[Just such a frenzy as we see the colored women exhibit at their religious camp-meetings and church services in the United States at the present day.]

“ ‘At once each became the centre of an admiring circle, for their frenzy was a sign of a good omen, a sign that the sacrifice had been accepted with pleasure by the gods, whose spokeswomen they had now become, for the time being, at least.

“ ‘After a while things quieted down; the crowd once more became attentive, for the final ceremony was at hand. As already mentioned, another pit had been excavated in the centre of the pillars, now so firmly erected. Alongside this centre hole, a dozen or more miserable women were dragged. These were the unfortunates who had given birth to twins during the previous year in the king’s dominions, and so brought evil upon it. One of the priests gave the people his views upon the subject, views that will hardly bear reproduction in these pages, and then the executioner, carrying an iron bar about two feet long, and followed by his assistants rolling a short thick log, threw the women down one after another, and, deliberately smashing their arms and legs in two places, doubled them up behind them and flung the poor creatures into the hole.

“ ‘Not a sound broke the silence, save the screams of the unfortunate victims of this horrible cruelty, and as soon as the last of them had been pitched, shrieking, into the pit, the earth was filled in over them while they were still alive, and with a wild shout the whole body of spectators rushed in and commenced stamping it flat with their feet. In a very short time all trace of the excavation had disappeared, and the

whole space inclosed by the uprights, and even several feet beyond them, was tramped smooth and flat and as hard as a threshing floor.

“‘No one passing could have guessed at the terrible crimes which had been committed, for hardly a splash of blood upon the pillars gave evidence of them.

“‘With firing of muskets, blowing of horns, and general congratulations and jollity, with praises, yelled and chanted, of the goodness of their king and his liberality, the crowd returned to the town, the women to prepare the evening meal and make such festive arrangements as were demanded by the king’s orders, the men to talk over the day’s celebrations, plan future schemes of blood and rapine, and discuss the next slave-catching expedition, all separating later on to secure betimes the royal dole of drink.

“‘I have described the day, the night I will leave to the reader’s imagination and to its fitting veil of darkness.’” (pp. 33-42.)

It is perfectly possible that we still have in this country a few negroes living who have taken part in just such ceremonies in Africa as is here briefly described; beyond all doubt we have hundreds of descendants living among us, whose near ancestors were negroes in Africa, who took part in the erection of Juju houses where such practices were indulged in. There are hundreds of hybrids of these people, crosses between the blacks and whites in this country, that upon the side of the former come from such stock. There are thousands upon thousands of negroes in the South who, if taken back into that country, would in a very short time revert to all these customs,—so superficial

is the veneering of the results of their pseudo-civilization gained since their coming to America.

This account of the erection of a Juju house given us by Mr. Grant is here so fully reproduced in order to acquaint the many who are totally unfamiliar with, and ignorant of, what kind of a being the African negro really is in his organization. Our white race has no such chapters in its history as far back as it can be traced, but if we are to assimilate by a general crossing with this savage, cannibal race we have on our hands, as has been proposed by such men as Thomas and others, *their* history becomes in time linked with our own noble record, and far in the future no American will be able to say that he has no such blood in his veins, for there will be no means of distinguishing the mixture in inter-marriage. It has been stated that the hybrids became sterile in the second, third or fourth generation, but this, it is clear, would not affect the question, for assimilation once commenced, the blood of the lesser and inferior race must all be taken up eventually in any event, and so great is the number of negroes in this country, that there is plenty of their blood to effect complete adulteration of the entire white population of the United States, and that adulteration would by no means be a slight one. By careful, extensive and direct personal examination, I have satisfied myself that not only is hybridization of the two races still in progress, but that cases of atavism occur all the time; and that not only is there a large class of degraded, sensuous white women in this country who prefer to copulate with black men, on account of the unusual length of time that the act commonly lasts in them, but also on ac-

whole space inclosed by the uprights, and even several feet beyond them, was tramped smooth and flat and as hard as a threshing floor.

“No one passing could have guessed at the terrible crimes which had been committed, for hardly a splash of blood upon the pillars gave evidence of them.

“With firing of muskets, blowing of horns, and general congratulations and jollity, with praises, yelled and chanted, of the goodness of their king and his liberality, the crowd returned to the town, the women to prepare the evening meal and make such festive arrangements as were demanded by the king's orders, the men to talk over the day's celebrations, plan future schemes of blood and rapine, and discuss the next slave-catching expedition, all separating later on to secure betimes the royal dole of drink.

“I have described the day, the night I will leave to the reader's imagination and to its fitting veil of darkness.” (pp. 33-42.)

It is perfectly possible that we still have in this country a few negroes living who have taken part in just such ceremonies in Africa as is here briefly described; beyond all doubt we have hundreds of descendants living among us, whose near ancestors were negroes in Africa, who took part in the erection of Juju houses where such practices were indulged in. There are hundreds of hybrids of these people, crosses between the blacks and whites in this country, that upon the side of the former come from such stock. There are thousands upon thousands of negroes in the South who, if taken back into that country, would in a very short time revert to all these customs,—so superficial

CHAPTER VI

The Effects of Fraternization between the Ethiopian and Anglo-Saxon Races upon Morals, upon Ethics, and upon the Material Progress of Mankind.

ANIMALS of all kinds are, through natural laws, invariably affected by their environments. Man forms no exception to this,—indeed, in the case of man, I am strongly inclined to believe he is more susceptible to what may influence or affect him in his surroundings than any other organized being or class of beings. This is due, in the highest races, to the sensitiveness, plasticity and moral composition of his organization. As we descend through the scale, through the lower races, this becomes less and less evident, being the least observable in those races, such as the negro race, most nearly related to the anthropoids or apes. Negroes are, of course, affected more or less by the environment in which they live, but more by the climatic conditions than they are by reactionary effects on their organizations due to the presence of peoples more highly civilized than themselves. A race without morals has it in its power but to mimic the qualifications and progress of the higher race, just as parrots mimic the human voice; they know neither the meaning of the words they utter, nor are they in any way mentally improved through the accomplishment. These condi-

tions are often much improved in hybrids, when those hybrids are produced by the crossing of the lowest races with representatives of either sex in the higher. This, however, is extremely objectionable and, in the long run, dangerous.


In large parts of the United States, especially in the so-called "black belt," all these conditions, and various others which have been referred to in the previous chapters of this book, are in constant operation. In some of the regions in this belt the two races are about in equal numbers; in others the whites are more or less in excess of the negroes; while, finally, in other districts, the latter may far outnumber the former. Where the blacks are in proportion comparatively very few in numbers, the harm done to the higher race is comparatively insignificant, and the harm only increases in degree as they increase in numbers. So far as I have been able to discover, however, the crossing of the two races goes on wherever they are brought in contact for any length of time. Comparatively there are but few negroes in New York City, my present place of writing, and I know that the black wenches are constantly sought by white men of the various plains of society for carnal gratification. Lighter colored hybrids are produced and they are making their appearance in the population. The coarser negresses, as I have before said, are well pleased to have children by white men, and for reasons already given. If they chance to be good-looking, cleanly in habit, and not especially repulsive in any way, they make better arrangements, and if light colored, of fine parts and figures, regular features, sensuous and attractive, they are often selected by white

men of fine position, family and standing, as I know personally to be the case. Such matings are usually made where scandal is the least likely to flourish. Children may or may not follow, and I imagine very rarely between black men and white women,—where more certain means are adopted to prevent such calamities. All this is very degrading, injurious, and harmful to both races, though in very different ways. In the case of the whites, it aids in this community, the adulteration of the higher stock by a baser material, and such practice is harmful under any and all conditions; whereas in the case of the negroes, the majority of whom believe that procreation and nature's method of insuring it, is about all that life means, it fosters in their minds the erroneous idea that they are ethnologically the whites' equals, and consequently become dissatisfied with the social plane they are obliged to occupy, and are restive under what they deem to be intentional barriers the whites place in their road to wealth and political power. It is impossible for them to appreciate the fact that nature is the author of such restrictions and limitations and not their Anglo-Saxon superiors. Brains, ability, and the power of achievement are the factors that are principally responsible for the status of the individual as well as the nation, and not that either simply possess human form and the power of speech,—a notion that appears to dominate the mind of the African in this country.

As we pass southward to the mid-Atlantic States and the cities in them where the negroes are far more numerous in proportion to the number of whites in the population, as in Baltimore and Washington and such places, not only is the crossing between the two

tions are often much improved in hybrids, when those hybrids are produced by the crossing of the lowest races with representatives of either sex in the higher. This, however, is extremely objectionable and, in the long run, dangerous.

In large parts of the United States, especially in the so-called "black belt," all these conditions, and various others which have been referred to in the previous chapters of this book, are in constant operation. In some of the regions in this belt the two races are about in equal numbers; in others the whites are more or less in excess of the negroes; while, finally, in other districts, the latter may far outnumber the former. Where the blacks are in proportion comparatively very few in numbers, the harm done to the higher race is comparatively insignificant, and the harm only increases in degree as they increase in numbers. So far as I have been able to discover, however, the crossing of the two races goes on wherever they are brought in contact for any length of time. Comparatively there are but few negroes in New York City, my present place of writing, and I know that the black wenches are constantly sought by white men of the various plains of society for carnal gratification. Lighter colored hybrids are produced and they are making their appearance in the population. The coarser negresses, as I have before said, are well pleased to have children by white men, and for reasons already given. If they chance to be good-looking, cleanly in habit, and not especially repulsive in any way, they make better arrangements, and if light colored, of fine parts and figures, regular features, sensuous and attractive, they are often selected by white



in its character, that it is not always distinctly apparent to the unthinking observer. Moreover, it requires careful, just and far-reaching comparison in order to measure the moral standard of a race at well-separated intervals in its career, in order that we may ascertain the differences in it. So far as I am at present aware, no such comparisons have been made in the case of the unadulterated population of whites in the city of Washington. But it is as true now as it always has been, that the contact with a naturally criminal race, if constant and long-sustained, by a superior, sounder and better race, the latter in time will, morally, slowly but surely deteriorate through the sheer force of circumstances, not to say example. The crime of the one people is almost, nay, quite certain, to involve the acts of the other, and transitory acts in time become habits, and habits define the characteristics of the whole people. As long ago as 1891, I pointed out that the negroes in Washington constituted but one-third of the population, yet they furnished the great bulk of the criminal cases of all kinds. The police report ending for June 25, 1890, exhibited the following terrible record sustaining what I have just stated: Assaults on policemen, 162, by whites 75, by colored 87; assaults on special officers, 25, by whites 9, by colored 16. Last year three policemen were killed by negroes, two when attempting to arrest them, and there is scarcely a year that this does not occur. The article to which I refer I published in *Science* (Vol. xviii, No. 445, New York, August 14, 1891; pp. 94, 95), and in it I further said that in *The Star* (a Washington newspaper), of December 24, 1888, it was shown that there were then in jail, awaiting trial or sentence for

murder, 16 persons, 2 white and 14 colored. Two years after (March 26, 1890), there were on the calendar 18 murder trials, the greater proportion by far having been committed by negroes. I now read that brief article with considerable satisfaction, for it is more than prophetic in its statements, and now, many years later, hundreds of different newspapers all over the country are printing accounts of crime that sustain what I then stated, and further stated in the Washington *Analostan Magazine* for March, 1891, and *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans, La. (Vol. LV., No. 23, February 16, 1891, p. 8), and elsewhere. In the New Orelans paper I remarked that "In 1882 I watched some several hundred negro children as at noon they poured out of one of the large colored public schools at Washington, D. C. The other day (1890) the same sight was presented to my eyes at exactly the same place, but a most marked change was perceptible. In the first case, the vast majority of the children were black, the mulatto being the exception; in the second instance, more than 50 per cent. were mulattoes, and many others so white that it would be difficult to pronounce with certainty upon them." That article was entitled "Foreign Races in the United States," and when I published it, not one in forty who read it, believed in what I said, any more than they did in what I said on "Hybridization of our Race with the Negroes in the United States," in *The Religio-Philosophical Journal* a month before (Vol. I., No. 34, Chicago, January 17, 1891, p. 533). What do those readers think now, if any of them chance to be in the land of the living? Was I in error? I am very sure I was not. Moreover, readers of the articles on this

subject in the press at the present time, know that I was not. Is the situation any better today than it was years ago, when I ventured my predictions? No, they are infinitely worse. The "problem" is far graver; the number of negroes far greater; and the means of ridding ourselves of these black parasites immeasurably more difficult. At our nation's capital, as they do everywhere else in the country, they still continue to furnish nine-tenths of the petty and major crimes on the court calendars; as an element they are more dangerous than ever in the matter of assaulting the female sex among the whites; their notions of national and municipal politics are just as rotten and debased as they always have been; they are just as much given to every species of mendacity as they were then; and they still pose as a race object-lesson before our growing generation, in all that is most lewd, most degrading, most objectionable, most ignorant and superstitious of the bestial side of the character of the genus *Homo*. There is no uncharitable intent in me when I judge them as I do as a whole, for the negro, the pure negro in this country, is no more responsible for his organization and character than any other animal is. A vulture will always eat carrion when surrounded on all hands by every kind of cleaner food. It is the nature of the bird.

A number of years ago I was at the voting polls of a state election in the Southern part of Maryland. Negroes went up there in bunches to deposit their votes. Every vote they deposited had been bought for a mere trifle by some of the representatives of the interested political parties of the time. A most disgusting sight it was,—monstrous absolutely, and involving

whole space inclosed by the uprights, and even several feet beyond them, was tramped smooth and flat and as hard as a threshing floor.

“‘No one passing could have guessed at the terrible crimes which had been committed, for hardly a splash of blood upon the pillars gave evidence of them.

“‘With firing of muskets, blowing of horns, and general congratulations and jollity, with praises, yelled and chanted, of the goodness of their king and his liberality, the crowd returned to the town, the women to prepare the evening meal and make such festive arrangements as were demanded by the king’s orders, the men to talk over the day’s celebrations, plan future schemes of blood and rapine, and discuss the next slave-catching expedition, all separating later on to secure betimes the royal dole of drink.

“‘I have described the day, the night I will leave to the reader’s imagination and to its fitting veil of darkness.’” (pp. 33-42.)

It is perfectly possible that we still have in this country a few negroes living who have taken part in just such ceremonies in Africa as is here briefly described; beyond all doubt we have hundreds of descendants living among us, whose near ancestors were negroes in Africa, who took part in the erection of Juju houses where such practices were indulged in. There are hundreds of hybrids of these people, crosses between the blacks and whites in this country, that upon the side of the former come from such stock. There are thousands upon thousands of negroes in the South who, if taken back into that country, would in a very short time revert to all these customs,—so superficial

is the veneering of the results of their pseudo-civilization gained since their coming to America.

This account of the erection of a Juju house given us by Mr. Grant is here so fully reproduced in order to acquaint the many who are totally unfamiliar with, and ignorant of, what kind of a being the African negro really is in his organization. Our white race has no such chapters in its history as far back as it can be traced, but if we are to assimilate by a general crossing with this savage, cannibal race we have on our hands, as has been proposed by such men as Thomas and others, *their* history becomes in time linked with our own noble record, and far in the future no American will be able to say that he has no such blood in his veins, for there will be no means of distinguishing the mixture in inter-marriage. It has been stated that the hybrids became sterile in the second, third or fourth generation, but this, it is clear, would not affect the question, for assimilation once commenced, the blood of the lesser and inferior race must all be taken up eventually in any event, and so great is the number of negroes in this country, that there is plenty of their blood to effect complete adulteration of the entire white population of the United States, and that adulteration would by no means be a slight one. By careful, extensive and direct personal examination, I have satisfied myself that not only is hybridization of the two races still in progress, but that cases of atavism occur all the time; and that not only is there a large class of degraded, sensuous white women in this country who prefer to copulate with black men, on account of the unusual length of time that the act commonly lasts in them, but also on ac-

"The future American negro will part, undoubtedly, with many of his racial characteristics as he approximates in color and conduct the white race. Even now many persons of negroid ancestry are so fair in color that they readily pass for white people, and marry among that class without exciting the slightest suspicion as to their mixed race identity. Furthermore, white American marriages are constantly contracted with every variety of the colored races, and the fruit of such unions is certain to exert, hereafter, a considerable influence upon many existing social perplexities. The inevitable outcome of a perfect blending of our heterogeneous peoples would be the development of a composite type of American people of incomparable strength and beauty, who, if they clung fast to their best ethical instincts, would attain such heights as would make our country what it was ordained to be,—the cradle of world-wide liberty, the citadel of human fraternity, and the seat and centre of universal righteousness."

Without exception, I think this is the most outrageous and vilest proposition that has yet been made on the part of any one as a solution of the negro problem in the United States. It is surely deplorable enough to know that this is without doubt what is actually now taking place, but to have a writer of Mr. Thomas's ability arise and suggest that such a course be encouraged and sanctioned is absolutely heinous and damnable. I can conceive of no greater calamity that could happen to my people, to my race in this country than this. We have here at least a certain proportion of the population who can call themselves true Americans—a race that, although it came from the

CHAPTER VI

The Effects of Fraternization between the Ethiopian and Anglo-Saxon Races upon Morals, upon Ethics, and upon the Material Progress of Mankind.

ANIMALS of all kinds are, through natural laws, invariably affected by their environments. Man forms no exception to this,—indeed, in the case of man, I am strongly inclined to believe he is more susceptible to what may influence or affect him in his surroundings than any other organized being or class of beings. This is due, in the highest races, to the sensitiveness, plasticity and moral composition of his organization. As we descend through the scale, through the lower races, this becomes less and less evident, being the least observable in those races, such as the negro race, most nearly related to the anthropoids or apes. Negroes are, of course, affected more or less by the environment in which they live, but more by the climatic conditions than they are by reactionary effects on their organizations due to the presence of peoples more highly civilized than themselves. A race without morals has it in its power but to mimic the qualifications and progress of the higher race, just as parrots mimic the human voice; they know neither the meaning of the words they utter, nor are they in any way mentally improved through the accomplishment. These condi-

tions are often much improved in hybrids, when those hybrids are produced by the crossing of the lowest races with representatives of either sex in the higher. This, however, is extremely objectionable and, in the long run, dangerous.

In large parts of the United States, especially in the so-called "black belt," all these conditions, and various others which have been referred to in the previous chapters of this book, are in constant operation. In some of the regions in this belt the two races are about in equal numbers; in others the whites are more or less in excess of the negroes; while, finally, in other districts, the latter may far outnumber the former. Where the blacks are in proportion comparatively very few in numbers, the harm done to the higher race is comparatively insignificant, and the harm only increases in degree as they increase in numbers. So far as I have been able to discover, however, the crossing of the two races goes on wherever they are brought in contact for any length of time. Comparatively there are but few negroes in New York City, my present place of writing, and I know that the black wenches are constantly sought by white men of the various plains of society for carnal gratification. Lighter colored hybrids are produced and they are making their appearance in the population. The coarser negresses, as I have before said, are well pleased to have children by white men, and for reasons already given. If they chance to be good-looking, cleanly in habit, and not especially repulsive in any way, they make better arrangements, and if light colored, of fine parts and figures, regular features, sensuous and attractive, they are often selected by white

men of fine position, family and standing, as I know personally to be the case. Such matings are usually made where scandal is the least likely to flourish. Children may or may not follow, and I imagine very rarely between black men and white women,—where more certain means are adopted to prevent such calamities. All this is very degrading, injurious, and harmful to both races, though in very different ways. In the case of the whites, it aids in this community, the adulteration of the higher stock by a baser material, and such practice is harmful under any and all conditions; whereas in the case of the negroes, the majority of whom believe that procreation and nature's method of insuring it, is about all that life means, it fosters in their minds the erroneous idea that they are ethnologically the whites' equals, and consequently become dissatisfied with the social plane they are obliged to occupy, and are restive under what they deem to be intentional barriers the whites place in their road to wealth and political power. It is impossible for them to appreciate the fact that nature is the author of such restrictions and limitations and not their Anglo-Saxon superiors. Brains, ability, and the power of achievement are the factors that are principally responsible for the status of the individual as well as the nation, and not that either simply possess human form and the power of speech,—a notion that appears to dominate the mind of the African in this country.

As we pass southward to the mid-Atlantic States and the cities in them where the negroes are far more numerous in proportion to the number of whites in the population, as in Baltimore and Washington and such places, not only is the crossing between the two

is
and
the
in-
age
him
at
con-
table
ible
ux
n
 races seen to be more evident, but it actually is more frequent, and the results all the more disastrous, while there likewise exist harmful influences of a widely different nature. In Washington, D. C., for example, where I studied the blacks and the hybrid types for many years, all the truth of Thomas's observations in his work, cited above (*The American Negro*), become glaringly evident. Long contact with American civilization has had but the effect of making, of the better class of negroes, admirable mimics of the whites in the matters of dress, some of the social requirements, and in ordinary conversation, while it has in no way improved them morally, physically or in other respects. American civilization, indeed, has but endowed them with the most superficial veneering of apparent refinement, while, as a matter of fact, the pure negro in this country is, in his real nature, just as much of a savage as he was three hundred years ago. Were the bulk of the blackest ones in the South taken back to their native haunts in Africa, they would, in my opinion, and in the opinion of other far-seeing anthropologists, resume all of their savage practices and customs again within an incredibly brief space of time. This makes the ethnic argument all the more forcible for sending them there and giving them the opportunity to work out their own destiny. Of the probability of this, however, more will be said further on.

Coming back to Washington again, we find that if the negro has benefited but superficially through his long contact with our civilization, he has been by no means lacking in the harm he has worked with our own race in morals and good ethics. This harmful influence has been of such an insidious nature, so varied

in its character, that it is not always distinctly apparent to the unthinking observer. Moreover, it requires careful, just and far-reaching comparison in order to measure the moral standard of a race at well-separated intervals in its career, in order that we may ascertain the differences in it. So far as I am at present aware, no such comparisons have been made in the case of the unadulterated population of whites in the city of Washington. But it is as true now as it always has been, that the contact with a naturally criminal race, if constant and long-sustained, by a superior, sounder and better race, the latter in time will, morally, slowly but surely deteriorate through the sheer force of circumstances, not to say example. The crime of the one people is almost, nay, quite certain, to involve the acts of the other, and transitory acts in time become habits, and habits define the characteristics of the whole people. As long ago as 1891, I pointed out that the negroes in Washington constituted but one-third of the population, yet they furnished the great bulk of the criminal cases of all kinds. The police report ending for June 25, 1890, exhibited the following terrible record sustaining what I have just stated: Assaults on policemen, 162, by whites 75, by colored 87; assaults on special officers, 25, by whites 9, by colored 16. Last year three policemen were killed by negroes, two when attempting to arrest them, and there is scarcely a year that this does not occur. The article to which I refer I published in *Science* (Vol. xviii, No. 445, New York, August 14, 1891; pp. 94, 95), and in it I further said that in *The Star* (a Washington newspaper), of December 24, 1888, it was shown that there were then in jail, awaiting trial or sentence for

murder, 16 persons, 2 white and 14 colored. Two years after (March 26, 1890), there were on the calendar 18 murder trials, the greater proportion by far having been committed by negroes. I now read that brief article with considerable satisfaction, for it is more than prophetic in its statements, and now, many years later, hundreds of different newspapers all over the country are printing accounts of crime that sustain what I then stated, and further stated in the Washington *Anaostan Magazine* for March, 1891, and *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans, La. (Vol. LV., No. 23, February 16, 1891, p. 8), and elsewhere. In the New Orleans paper I remarked that "In 1882 I watched some several hundred negro children as at noon they poured out of one of the large colored public schools at Washington, D. C. The other day (1890) the same sight was presented to my eyes at exactly the same place, but a most marked change was perceptible. In the first case, the vast majority of the children were black, the mulatto being the exception; in the second instance, more than 50 per cent. were mulattoes, and many others so white that it would be difficult to pronounce with certainty upon them." That article was entitled "Foreign Races in the United States," and when I published it, not one in forty who read it, believed in what I said, any more than they did in what I said on "Hybridization of our Race with the Negroes in the United States," in *The Religious-Philosophical Journal* a month before (Vol. I., No. 34, Chicago, January 17, 1891, p. 533). What do those readers think now, if any of them chance to be in the land of the living? Was I in error? I am very sure I was not. Moreover, readers of the articles on this

subject in the press at the present time, know that I was not. Is the situation any better today than it was years ago, when I ventured my predictions? No, they are infinitely worse. The "problem" is far graver; the number of negroes far greater; and the means of ridding ourselves of these black parasites immeasurably more difficult. At our nation's capital, as they do everywhere else in the country, they still continue to furnish nine-tenths of the petty and major crimes on the court calendars; as an element they are more dangerous than ever in the matter of assaulting the female sex among the whites; their notions of national and municipal politics are just as rotten and debased as they always have been; they are just as much given to every species of mendacity as they were then; and they still pose as a race object-lesson before our growing generation, in all that is most lewd, most degrading, most objectionable, most ignorant and superstitious of the bestial side of the character of the genus *Homo*. There is no uncharitable intent in me when I judge them as I do as a whole, for the negro, the pure negro in this country, is no more responsible for his organization and character than any other animal is. A vulture will always eat carrion when surrounded on all hands by every kind of cleaner food. It is the nature of the bird.

A number of years ago I was at the voting polls of a state election in the Southern part of Maryland. Negroes went up there in bunches to deposit their votes. Every vote they deposited had been bought for a mere trifle by some of the representatives of the interested political parties of the time. A most disgusting sight it was,—monstrous absolutely, and involving

a danger of all dangers to clean and respectable government. I shuddered as I witnessed the scene. The same scenes can be witnessed at any election at any time in that State today. (See APPENDIX, Note 3, p. 197.)

There are those who say that the members of our own race are to blame for this, for they buy the votes, which is just as criminal as the fraudulent deposition of them, and even more so, for the higher race should set the better example. But this is simply illustrative of what I have already stated in a former paragraph. Were it not for the presence of the negro in such numbers in such places, the whites would not have the inducement to resort to such criminal practices. One never sees scenes of that kind in New York City, where but comparatively few negroes appear at the polls, and the votes cast at a general election run far into the thousands.

As a rule, the youth of the American negro are by nature great liars, they are nearly all predisposed to gambling; and the majority of them will steal. So far as example goes, they, in these respects, set a fiendish example to the coming generation of the youth of our own race in this country. Moreover, the young blacks are distinctly lewd and sensuous in their inclinations, and at early stages develop a desire to carnally possess white maidens and women, traits in reality they never outgrow, and which are a constant menace to the gentler sex of our people everywhere. This influence is extremely bad and the knowledge of it reacts disastrously upon the minds of our daughters and wives throughout the country, as I shall presently show. To have a fine, pure-minded, clean and cultured race grow, it is highly essential that it

should ever have before it all that is refining and beautiful in the world, all that tends to elevate body and mind; all that inspires to cultivate art, science, literature and learning, and certainly not be brought into the atmosphere of another people who have all the worse factors of degradation and ignorance in their organization. People may think that the latter may have no detrimental influence upon the higher race, but it does nevertheless, and most powerfully so. Anything and everything in the environment of any animal is morally certain to affect that animal in one way or another. The same axiom applies with equal truth to the race or the group. With respect to the superior people, their morals and ethics are bound to suffer. A dozen rotten apples have it in their power to spoil the entire barrel, and the greater the number of the rotten ones the sooner will general decay and corruption take place. It is all nonsense to talk about the better race redeeming and eventually elevating the lower one to the plane of the former, for nature's laws work in no such manner. In this country, the highest civilization, the cleanest and soundest white people flourish where the negro is not, or exists in comparatively few numbers. But to carry this argument further would be but to introduce odious comparisons, and that is something I certainly desire to avoid. Washington, our nation's capital, has in these particulars a terrible load to carry, and the amount of black venom that has been injected into her veins requires all the force of her Caucasian constitution to tolerate, and as beautiful as that growing city is, it nevertheless could be far more so were it not for the presence, in its every place and thoroughfare, of the low African stock

that constantly attacks her very vitals. Baltimore is another city profoundly affected with the same malady, and Dr. Wm. Lee Howard has well said in an article he has published on the subject, entitled "The Negro as a Distinct Ethnic Factor in Civilization" (*Medicine*, June, 1903): "The attitude of complacent moralists, the preaching of far distant ascetics, and the Sunday-school advice of the New England maiden who would take the African to her bosom, would be amusing were it not for the serious conditions underlying the misunderstood facts.

"The truth is that the negro of today, untrammelled and free from control, is rapidly showing atavistic tendencies. He is returning to a state of savagery, and in his frequent attacks of sexual madness, his religious emotionalism, superstition, and indolence, is himself again — a savage. This animalism, this innate character of the African, will demonstrate itself more and more as he is allowed the liberty of his sway of ancestral sexual impulses, and as long as moralists and sociologists of the 'suppressive school' continue to remain purblind to the negro's dominant physiologic and psychologic organism" (p. 423).

And, further on, he very truly says: "It is unscientific to attempt to study the adjustment and laws of society without a thorough knowledge of the structure of its individual parts. It is useless for philanthropists, preachers, and editors in the North, or any other part of the country where the African is not understood or studied, to talk about school and college education controlling his hereditary racial instincts. His individual parts are not known to such people. Only he who knows life from the monad to cell com-

plex man can intelligently discuss the negro question. To understand the ineradicable racial traits of the African, one must know the structural life and habits resulting from a certain biologic basis. We must penetrate beneath superficial ideas, throw aside prudish philosophy, and open our eyes to anatomical and physical facts if we wish to render justice to civilization. Silence regarding sexual matters must give way to vocative statements, for it is by these unavoidable statements that we must be guided in dealing with the negro question."

any
i-
ing
of
the
The time has, or ought to have, arrived in the world when man, or the intelligent part of mankind, can largely control his, or its own environment. Nature has no pity, or so far as we know, no designs in such matters. With her the laws are simply operative in accordance with the conditions present and involved. Certain effects are bound to become evident if certain states and conditions exist, and nature would not care a rap were this planet to become as cold as an iceberg, solid to the core, and with a surface as smooth as a billiard-ball without so much as a grain of dust upon it. With her biologic law would then simply cease, and physical law alone would still remain active. In other words, it remains entirely with ourselves to control our environment in such matters, and were there a consensus of opinion upon the point, followed by a consensus of action, we have it in our power to render the negro race extinct in the United States in very short order. Sociologic adjustment would follow quite as quickly, and natural laws would still continue as unceasingly in their action. That mankind in the long run would be enormously benefited, and the white race

tions are often much improved in hybrids, when those hybrids are produced by the crossing of the lowest races with representatives of either sex in the higher. This, however, is extremely objectionable and, in the long run, dangerous.

In large parts of the United States, especially in the so-called "black belt," all these conditions, and various others which have been referred to in the previous chapters of this book, are in constant operation. In some of the regions in this belt the two races are about in equal numbers; in others the whites are more or less in excess of the negroes; while, finally, in other districts, the latter may far outnumber the former. Where the blacks are in proportion comparatively very few in numbers, the harm done to the higher race is comparatively insignificant, and the harm only increases in degree as they increase in numbers. So far as I have been able to discover, however, the crossing of the two races goes on wherever they are brought in contact for any length of time. Comparatively there are but few negroes in New York City, my present place of writing, and I know that the black wenches are constantly sought by white men of the various plains of society for carnal gratification. Lighter colored hybrids are produced and they are making their appearance in the population. The coarser negresses, as I have before said, are well pleased to have children by white men, and for reasons already given. If they chance to be good-looking, cleanly in habit, and not especially repulsive in any way, they make better arrangements, and if light colored, of fine parts and figures, regular features, sensuous and attractive, they are often selected by white

men of fine position, family and standing, as I know personally to be the case. Such matings are usually made where scandal is the least likely to flourish. Children may or may not follow, and I imagine very rarely between black men and white women,—where more certain means are adopted to prevent such calamities. All this is very degrading, injurious, and harmful to both races, though in very different ways. In the case of the whites, it aids in this community, the adulteration of the higher stock by a baser material, and such practice is harmful under any and all conditions; whereas in the case of the negroes, the majority of whom believe that procreation and nature's method of insuring it, is about all that life means, it fosters in their minds the erroneous idea that they are ethnologically the whites' equals, and consequently become dissatisfied with the social plane they are obliged to occupy, and are restive under what they deem to be intentional barriers the whites place in their road to wealth and political power. It is impossible for them to appreciate the fact that nature is the author of such restrictions and limitations and not their Anglo-Saxon superiors. Brains, ability, and the power of achievement are the factors that are principally responsible for the status of the individual as well as the nation, and not that either simply possess human form and the power of speech,—a notion that appears to dominate the mind of the African in this country.

As we pass southward to the mid-Atlantic States and the cities in them where the negroes are far more numerous in proportion to the number of whites in the population, as in Baltimore and Washington and such places, not only is the crossing between the two

races seen to be more evident, but it actually is more frequent, and the results all the more disastrous, while there likewise exist harmful influences of a widely different nature. In Washington, D. C., for example, where I studied the blacks and the hybrid types for many years, all the truth of Thomas's observations in his work, cited above (*The American Negro*), become glaringly evident. Long contact with American civilization has had but the effect of making, of the better class of negroes, admirable mimics of the whites in the matters of dress, some of the social requirements, and in ordinary conversation, while it has in no way improved them morally, physically or in other respects. American civilization, indeed, has but endowed them with the most superficial veneering of apparent refinement, while, as a matter of fact, the pure negro in this country is, in his real nature, just as much of a savage as he was three hundred years ago. Were the bulk of the blackest ones in the South taken back to their native haunts in Africa, they would, in my opinion, and in the opinion of other far-seeing anthropologists, resume all of their savage practices and customs again within an incredibly brief space of time. This makes the ethnic argument all the more forcible for sending them there and giving them the opportunity to work out their own destiny. Of the probability of this, however, more will be said further on.

Coming back to Washington again, we find that if the negro has benefited but superficially through his long contact with our civilization, he has been by no means lacking in the harm he has worked with our own race in morals and good ethics. This harmful influence has been of such an insidious nature, so varied

in its character, that it is not always distinctly apparent to the unthinking observer. Moreover, it requires careful, just and far-reaching comparison in order to measure the moral standard of a race at well-separated intervals in its career, in order that we may ascertain the differences in it. So far as I am at present aware, no such comparisons have been made in the case of the unadulterated population of whites in the city of Washington. But it is as true now as it always has been, that the contact with a naturally criminal race, if constant and long-sustained, by a superior, sounder and better race, the latter in time will, morally, slowly but surely deteriorate through the sheer force of circumstances, not to say example. The crime of the one people is almost, nay, quite certain, to involve the acts of the other, and transitory acts in time become habits, and habits define the characteristics of the whole people. As long ago as 1891, I pointed out that the negroes in Washington constituted but one-third of the population, yet they furnished the great bulk of the criminal cases of all kinds. The police report ending for June 25, 1890, exhibited the following terrible record sustaining what I have just stated: Assaults on policemen, 162, by whites 75, by colored 87; assaults on special officers, 25, by whites 9, by colored 16. Last year three policemen were killed by negroes, two when attempting to arrest them, and there is scarcely a year that this does not occur. The article to which I refer I published in *Science* (Vol. xviii, No. 445, New York, August 14, 1891; pp. 94, 95), and in it I further said that in *The Star* (a Washington newspaper), of December 24, 1888, it was shown that there were then in jail, awaiting trial or sentence for

murder, 16 persons, 2 white and 14 colored. Two years after (March 26, 1890), there were on the calendar 18 murder trials, the greater proportion by far having been committed by negroes. I now read that brief article with considerable satisfaction, for it is more than prophetic in its statements, and now, many years later, hundreds of different newspapers all over the country are printing accounts of crime that sustain what I then stated, and further stated in the Washington *Anaostan Magazine* for March, 1891, and *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans, La. (Vol. LV., No. 23, February 16, 1891, p. 8), and elsewhere. In the New Orleans paper I remarked that "In 1882 I watched some several hundred negro children as at noon they poured out of one of the large colored public schools at Washington, D. C. The other day (1890) the same sight was presented to my eyes at exactly the same place, but a most marked change was perceptible. In the first case, the vast majority of the children were black, the mulatto being the exception; in the second instance, more than 50 per cent. were mulattoes, and many others so white that it would be difficult to pronounce with certainty upon them." That article was entitled "Foreign Races in the United States," and when I published it, not one in forty who read it, believed in what I said, any more than they did in what I said on "Hybridization of our Race with the Negroes in the United States," in *The Religio-Philosophical Journal* a month before (Vol. I., No. 34, Chicago, January 17, 1891, p. 533). What do those readers think now, if any of them chance to be in the land of the living? Was I in error? I am very sure I was not. Moreover, readers of the articles on this

subject in the press at the present time, know that I was not. Is the situation any better today than it was years ago, when I ventured my predictions? No, they are infinitely worse. The "problem" is far graver; the number of negroes far greater; and the means of ridding ourselves of these black parasites immeasurably more difficult. At our nation's capital, as they do everywhere else in the country, they still continue to furnish nine-tenths of the petty and major crimes on the court calendars; as an element they are more dangerous than ever in the matter of assaulting the female sex among the whites; their notions of national and municipal politics are just as rotten and debased as they always have been; they are just as much given to every species of mendacity as they were then; and they still pose as a race object-lesson before our growing generation, in all that is most lewd, most degrading, most objectionable, most ignorant and superstitious of the bestial side of the character of the genus *Homo*. There is no uncharitable intent in me when I judge them as I do as a whole, for the negro, the pure negro in this country, is no more responsible for his organization and character than any other animal is. A vulture will always eat carrion when surrounded on all hands by every kind of cleaner food. It is the nature of the bird.

A number of years ago I was at the voting polls of a state election in the Southern part of Maryland. Negroes went up there in bunches to deposit their votes. Every vote they deposited had been bought for a mere trifle by some of the representatives of the interested political parties of the time. A most disgusting sight it was,—monstrous absolutely, and involving

a danger of all dangers to clean and respectable government. I shuddered as I witnessed the scene. The same scenes can be witnessed at any election at any time in that State today. (See APPENDIX, Note 3, p. 197.)

There are those who say that the members of our own race are to blame for this, for they buy the votes, which is just as criminal as the fraudulent deposition of them, and even more so, for the higher race should set the better example. But this is simply illustrative of what I have already stated in a former paragraph. Were it not for the presence of the negro in such numbers in such places, the whites would not have the inducement to resort to such criminal practices. One never sees scenes of that kind in New York City, where but comparatively few negroes appear at the polls, and the votes cast at a general election run far into the thousands.

As a rule, the youth of the American negro are by nature great liars, they are nearly all predisposed to gambling; and the majority of them will steal. So far as example goes, they, in these respects, set a fiendish example to the coming generation of the youth of our own race in this country. Moreover, the young blacks are distinctly lewd and sensuous in their inclinations, and at early stages develop a desire to carnally possess white maidens and women, traits in reality they never outgrow, and which are a constant menace to the gentler sex of our people everywhere. This influence is extremely bad and the knowledge of it reacts disastrously upon the minds of our daughters and wives throughout the country, as I shall presently show. To have a fine, pure-minded, clean and cultured race grow, it is highly essential that it

should ever have before it all that is refining and beautiful in the world, all that tends to elevate body and mind; all that inspires to cultivate art, science, literature and learning, and certainly not be brought into the atmosphere of another people who have all the worse factors of degradation and ignorance in their organization. People may think that the latter may have no detrimental influence upon the higher race, but it does nevertheless, and most powerfully so. Anything and everything in the environment of any animal is morally certain to affect that animal in one way or another. The same axiom applies with equal truth to the race or the group. With respect to the superior people, their morals and ethics are bound to suffer. A dozen rotten apples have it in their power to spoil the entire barrel, and the greater the number of the rotten ones the sooner will general decay and corruption take place. It is all nonsense to talk about the better race redeeming and eventually elevating the lower one to the plane of the former, for nature's laws work in no such manner. In this country, the highest civilization, the cleanest and soundest white people flourish where the negro is not, or exists in comparatively few numbers. But to carry this argument further would be but to introduce odious comparisons, and that is something I certainly desire to avoid. Washington, our nation's capital, has in these particulars a terrible load to carry, and the amount of black venom that has been injected into her veins requires all the force of her Caucasian constitution to tolerate, and as beautiful as that growing city is, it nevertheless could be far more so were it not for the presence, in its every place and thoroughfare, of the low African stock

that constantly attacks her very vitals. Baltimore is another city profoundly affected with the same malady, and Dr. Wm. Lee Howard has well said in an article he has published on the subject, entitled "The Negro as a Distinct Ethnic Factor in Civilization" (*Medicine*, June, 1903): "The attitude of complacent moralists, the preaching of far distant ascetics, and the Sunday-school advice of the New England maiden who would take the African to her bosom, would be amusing were it not for the serious conditions underlying the misunderstood facts.

"The truth is that the negro of today, untrammelled and free from control, is rapidly showing atavistic tendencies. He is returning to a state of savagery, and in his frequent attacks of sexual madness, his religious emotionalism, superstition, and indolence, is himself again — a savage. This animalism, this innate character of the African, will demonstrate itself more and more as he is allowed the liberty of his sway of ancestral sexual impulses, and as long as moralists and sociologists of the 'suppressive school' continue to remain purblind to the negro's dominant physiologic and psychologic organism" (p. 423).

And, further on, he very truly says: "It is unscientific to attempt to study the adjustment and laws of society without a thorough knowledge of the structure of its individual parts. It is useless for philanthropists, preachers, and editors in the North, or any other part of the country where the African is not understood or studied, to talk about school and college education controlling his hereditary racial instincts. His individual parts are not known to such people. Only he who knows life from the monad to cell com-

plex man can intelligently discuss the negro question. To understand the ineradicable racial traits of the African, one must know the structural life and habits resulting from a certain biologic basis. We must penetrate beneath superficial ideas, throw aside prudish philosophy, and open our eyes to anatomical and physical facts if we wish to render justice to civilization. Silence regarding sexual matters must give way to vocative statements, for it is by these unavoidable statements that we must be guided in dealing with the negro question."

The time has, or ought to have, arrived in the world when man, or the intelligent part of mankind, can largely control his, or its own environment. Nature has no pity, or so far as we know, no designs in such matters. With her the laws are simply operative in accordance with the conditions present and involved. Certain effects are bound to become evident if certain states and conditions exist, and nature would not care a rap were this planet to become as cold as an iceberg, solid to the core, and with a surface as smooth as a billiard-ball without so much as a grain of dust upon it. With her biologic law would then simply cease, and physical law alone would still remain active. In other words, it remains entirely with ourselves to control our environment in such matters, and were there a consensus of opinion upon the point, followed by a consensus of action, we have it in our power to render the negro race extinct in the United States in very short order. Sociologic adjustment would follow quite as quickly, and natural laws would still continue as unceasingly in their action. That mankind in the long run would be enormously benefited, and the white race

in this country be the distinct gainer, I, for one, do not for a moment doubt.

But let us for a while pass still further south in this region, south of Washington and Baltimore, into our subtropical realm, into the so-called "black belt" region, and see how our Caucasian brethren are faring in that quarter. The dangers, all of them, that I have attempted to portray in the leading paragraphs of this chapter are there vastly intensified and increased. The bulk of the white population throughout those states are slowly awakening to the horrors of the situation that now confronts them. Negroes are massed everywhere, and being no longer under control, menace all that is decent in a developing nation—menace morals; menace progress and development; menace legal and political stability; and threaten, in no uncertain manner, the very existence and purity of the American race and its career. Ask any intelligent Southern man or woman and he or she will tell you something of the state of affairs there existing, even if such people do not grasp the danger in its fulness as the far-seeing and philosophic biologist and anthropologist does. Listen to some of the paragraphs that Ellen Barret Ligon, M. D., of Mobile, Alabama, has printed in her recent article on "The White Woman and the Negro," which appeared in the November, 1903, issue of a Springfield, Massachusetts, magazine, called *Good Housekeeping*. After pointing out the nature of our American civilization in the South and our duties in preserving it; after touching upon the dire calamities which follow an attempt to inaugurate social equality between the negroes and the whites; after indicating the true attitude of the Southerner

toward the colored race; after arraighning the negro hybrids for being proud of the white blood in their veins, and informing them that they are still negroes; after rejoicing that the negro in the South is free; this writer proceeds to say: "Those at a distance cannot realize the situation the people of the South are facing, nor the conditions arising from living in the midst of hordes of negroes. One or two negroes may be to some tastes picturesque, spectacular, but to be in the midst of a whelming black flood, rolling its waves against the bulwarks of our civilization, overflowing our public highways and public conveyances, threatening our homes, is the condition which the men and women of our own race should investigate and realize, before they devote themselves to that strange philanthropy which is so tender of heart for the black brother or sister, and criminally ignorant of, and careless about, the terrible dangers that threaten the women and children of their own race, and which they may be so largely instrumental in precipitating.

"The all-pervasiveness of the negro, not by ones and twos, but by the million, with his 'equality' insolence, his odoriferous person, his criminal tendencies, is a factor for danger and discomfort that must be held in check by the most far-seeing intelligence. There is no community where the blacks exist in any numbers, that they have not made themselves offensive to the whites — Washington, for example — and there is no other part of the country where this offensiveness, when short of actual criminality, is borne so forgivingly as in the South. They put on extra police force that their daughters in going to and from school may be protected from infamous remarks made

to them by passing negro men; city districts must have extra guards that negro fiends may not enter homes and knock sleeping women senseless that they may be violated afterward. This happened in the same city over and over again for two years, in spite of extra guards. Several of the women died. One wretch was at last caught, and the tolerant people decided that he was a degenerate and sent him to the insane asylum to be cared for by the State. Yet there are people at a distance, unknowing the conditions in the South, who throw all their sympathies with 'the poor, downtrodden negro.'

"It is time that they knew better. Let all the world listen while the South calls on you to hear: The white woman is the coveted desire of the negro man. The despoiling of the white woman is his chosen vengeance.

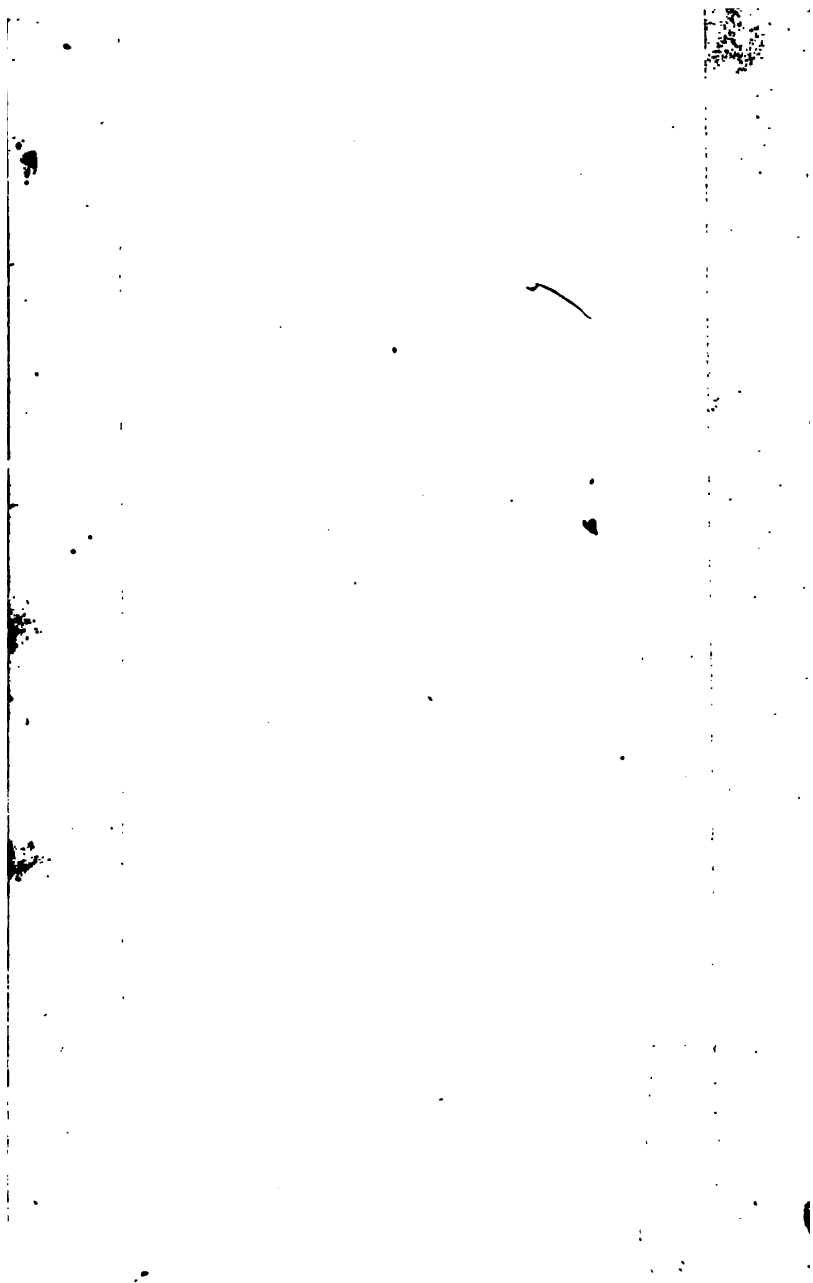
"The white woman must be saved!

"The vital point in the race question today is the safety of the Southern white woman, and all the helplessness of womanhood appeals to the manhood of the world to protect her with every possible safeguard. 'Social equality' is battering on the walls that protect her, and for what purpose? To make a breach where the negro may climb up and over. And who is to be helped by this invasion? Not the negro, for it puts him in a false position, and the white race will certainly be no better for the mixture.

"All philanthropical claims can be fully met mentally and morally without taking the negro, even the best negro, into the home circle. It makes no difference that social equality is asked for only those who are worthy. The social recognition of one good negro



Fig. 8. The Vance Family. The little girl in the father's arm was the negro Henry Smith's victim. (Photograph by J. L. Mertins, Paris, Texas.)



stimulates in thousands of black devils resentment at not being similarly treated, and rouses them to fresh insults and outrages aimed at the Southern white woman. Negro equality is a theory; negro outrages and insults resulting from the inculcation of the doctrine of equality are hideous facts.

This lady knows whereof she speaks, and she possesses the true courage of the heroine, putting her thoughts to paper and print without a spark of false shame or fear. I cannot sufficiently admire her candor and her appeal. Her words, her description of actual conditions, should be sounded throughout the length and breadth of this country, and with that view in mind, I take infinite pleasure in reproducing here still more from her admirable invocation. "Behind the Southern adamantine resolve that the Southern white people shall forever be white people," she says, "is an instinct which few have analyzed — the instinct for the preservation of species. Preservation of species is one of the strongest laws of nature. The lion does not mate with the tiger. Race aversion is simply the unconscious recognition of this creational difference, and the normal attitude toward a mingling of the two races should be one of instinctive animal revolt." In these words, we cannot concur, for as I have said and abundantly shown in previous chapters, nature cares nothing about the species, lions and tigers have mated and offspring hybrids have resulted; and, misfortunes of all misfortunes, the white and black races are interbreeding in the United States. She speaks with more truth when she comes back to the question again and says, "Today, because the negro has been taught 'you are the social equal of

the whites, you have the right to whatever the white man has a right to,' the object most desired by him is the forbidden, the unattainable white woman. In that over-and-over repeated story of the outrages in the South, it is almost invariably a white woman or white child that has been the victim, and a negro the criminal. The Southern white man knows that his wife is not safe in her home, nor his child in her bed, except for the vigilance and the surveillance of the law."

It is as true as black is not white when she says that "when one American woman was carried off by bandits the entire nation, even the government, was roused with indignation and anxiety. Almost daily in our own country beasts worse than bandits despoil the tender and the helpless. Good, conscientious, mistaken women are sympathizing with the black man, because they have not heard the little child's voice crying in the night and found their baby girl out of doors in her own blood, mangled and torn, nor seen some white woman's body with skull crushed and bruised breast, nor even heard the obscene infamies that, in wanton insolence, are spoken to the white girl or woman by the passing black."

Proceeding, this Southern lady shows up the record for all kinds of crimes in the South, and the increase of certain diseases. Eighty-five per cent. of the crimes committed in the Southern States are committed by negroes. Insanity is increasing among them to a fearful extent, and especially among the mulattoes. Tuberculosis has a similar showing, and the blacks there are especially prone to that disease, forming an immense nidus to propagate the malady and pass it along to the most susceptible types among the

whites. All this is a curse, adding death and disease to every other infliction brought upon us through the presence of this criminal semi-savage race in our midst.

"Within the past year or so," says this courageous writer, "the horror has crept across the line, and what the North once viewed with incredulity and indifference from afar has lately become visible from its very doors. It can no longer be dismissed as a fable from Louisiana or Texas, for it has manifested itself in Delaware, Kansas and Illinois. It has come too close to be ignored or pooh-poohed, or relegated to the limbo of malignant fiction. Suppose it were to be your daughter next?"

"What are you going to do about it, Americans?" This is a very fitting question wherewith to close this burning appeal to our race, and it is the members of our own race,—Americans—who are the true, the real sufferers in this question. Yes, Americans, what *are* you going to do about it? We are not responsible for the acts of our forefathers in this country, nor are we pledged to abide by, for a single instant, the results of any of the monumental blunders they made. It was an enormous mistake on the part of our ancestors, the bringing of the African negroes to this country, but the proposition is an entirely different one that confronts us now. They are here, and instead of being slaves under our control, they are free, free to pollute our entire country. Are we still to stand with our hands down at our sides and see them do it? Are we to allow this unavoidable miscegenation to go on? As far back as he can look into human history, the Anglo-Saxon has no record of cannibalism to *conceal* from his offspring; are we now to take up into our

1

blood, which means the commingling of history, a race of human flesh eaters, and who would consume human flesh again with relish, were they returned to the country from whence they came? Are we to make a hatchery of this fair land of ours for unbridled crime and disease simply because we are afraid to act? Are we of the North to remain deaf to the earnest cry for our aid in this matter from the mothers and daughters of our own race in the South? What in the name of all that is manly and brave and honorable has come over this American nation? Are we becoming so foully adulterated by the black scum of the earth that we can no longer be moved through the spirit of chivalry, through the dictates of honor, through the highest instincts of manliness, to listen to and to heed the distress and danger of thousands of our own women?

Are we, as a nation, after all our effort, with all our civilization, with everything before us, to have no better record for the coming future, that after all, in the outcome, we proved a curse rather than a benefit to mankind? It is a nation's highest duty so to acquit itself in its career that its national ethics will not only redound to its own credit, but that in the general trend of humanity's progress, mankind will ever be improved and served.

In this race question we are simply submitting to a mixing of the good and the bad, and that is reprehensible practice in anything, but I shall have more to say on this point in a later chapter. One thing certain, our mothers and daughters in the South are becoming thoroughly awake to the dangerous side of the freed negro's character so far as it concerns *them*.

What I have quoted above demonstrates this fact. That is not altogether a bad thing, for to rid ourselves of what is criminal, we must first recognize beyond peradventure the source of the crime. With respect to the negro, this has been done. Again, to rid ourselves of disease and unsanitary conditions, we must first recognize the disease and the class of people who are giving rise to it, and whether it be curable or incurable. With respect to the negro, this has been done. Finally, to sustain a high standard of morals and refined ethics, we must rid ourselves of the source of the immorality, of the cause of our retrogradation in good conduct. With respect to the negro, this evidently remains for us to do. Suppression has *never* been known to eliminate or eradicate vice, or crime, therefore, we must, for the sake of mankind, resort to other means.

We have through our experience, the safest of all teachers, come to know thoroughly the mental density of the negro; his ignorance and superstition; his mendacity; his innate predisposition for every class of crime in the calendar; his bestiality and animal sensuality, and his savage and cannibalistic history,—a diagnosis has been made, every educated physician appreciates what is next to be done in the case. In the next following chapter this diagnosis will be discussed, and something will be said of the treatment that has thus far been instituted, and more about the latter will be said in my final chapter.

CHAPTER VII

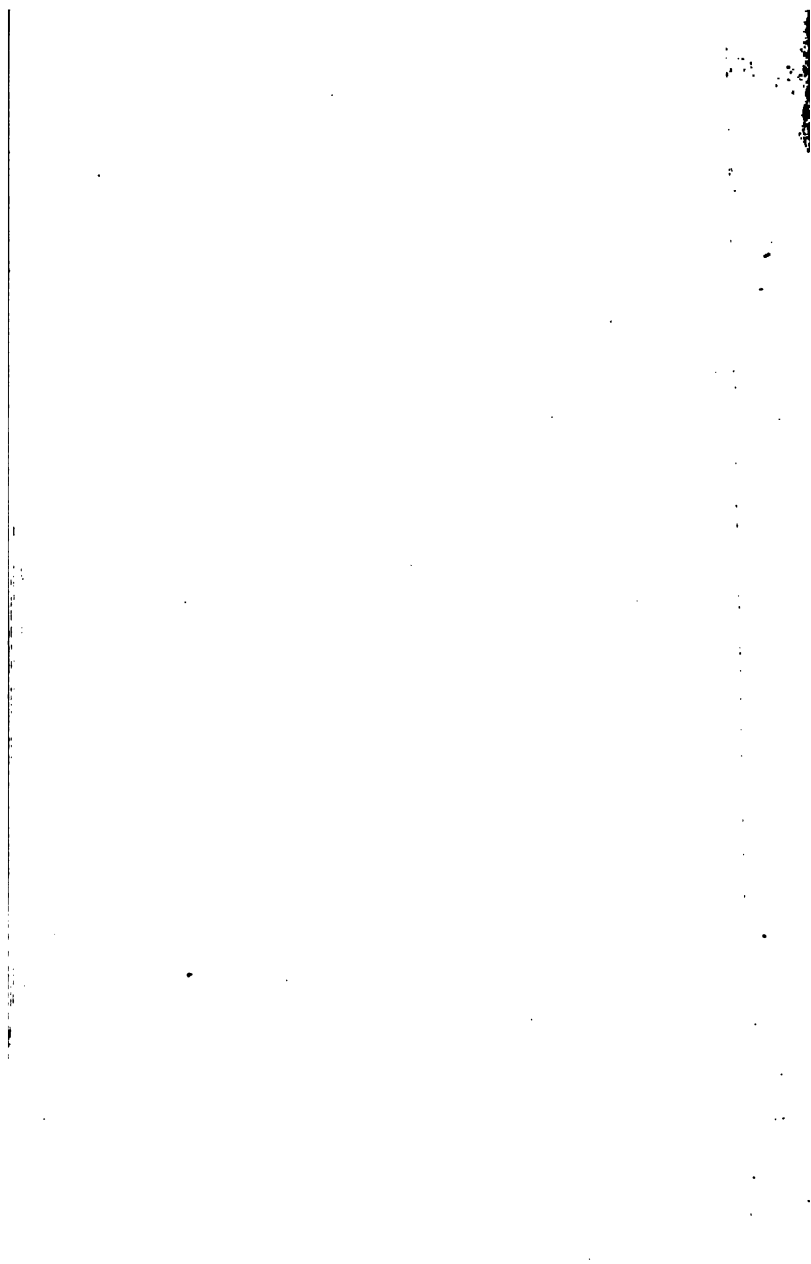
Passion and Criminality in the Negro: Lynch Law and Other Questions.

AS THE development of the body in man and all other animals has been a matter of evolution, so too has been the growth and development of all the psychological attributes in us, using the latter term in its most far-reaching sense. This being true, it at once becomes evident that the lower the position held by any particular race of mankind in the scale of morphological development, the lower will all the passions, instincts, morals, emotions and aims be found to be as exemplified in that race. To this universal rule and all its variations and refinement, the typical negro forms no exception, and it is equally applicable to every grade of hybrid produced by crossing the negro with other races, however difficult it may be sometimes for us to discern it.

In the negro all passions, emotions and ambitions are almost wholly subservient to the sensual instinct, and that quite apart from the sexual or procreative instinct, for an individual of this race is yet to be found who has ever had congress with the opposite sex, having only in mind the making of a child. They copulate solely for the gratification of the passion — for the erotic pleasure it affords them. In other words, negroes are purely animal, that is, in the sense of



Fig. 9. Where the body of little Myrtle Vance was found. (Mertins, photo.).



quadrupedal animals, in this respect. Nor should we expect anything different from this; civilization and progressive civilization are altogether meaningless to them, consequently posterity has practically no interest for them. They live in the present, and being essentially without morals, and, as a rule, being equipped far above the average man for sensual indulgences, he gives that side of his nature full sway, when no restrictions of any kind whatever are present to hinder.

Thomas says, in his above-quoted work: "He [the negro] is regarded as a creature of lascivious habits, personal vanity, mental density, and physical laziness. All who know the negro recognize, however, that the chief and overpowering element in his make-up is an imperious sexual impulse, which, aroused at the slightest incentive, sweeps aside all restraints in the pursuit of physical gratification. We may say now that this element of negro character constitutes the main incitement to the degeneracy of the race, and is the chief hindrance to its social uplifting" (pp. 176, 177). My study and questioning the average negro as he exists in the United States has convinced me that he is so bestial by nature that he holds in no regard whatever such virtue as may be present in the mothers, daughters, wives or sisters among them. They revel in lewd conversation, in erotic practices, and in unlimited sensual pursuits. Especially do they delight in encouraging the approaches of the whites among the women of their kind.

Upon the other hand, negresses, although not altogether given to making advances of this character, readily accept the sensuous embraces of white men,

with characteristic avidity, and glory in the congress. Along such lines, as I have already said, they often, yes, very often show no little foresight, for they well know that if they become pregnant by a white man, the child runs ten times the chance of success in its life than were it of pure negro blood.

Copy
2
“So lacking in moral rectitude are the men of the negro race,” says Thomas again, “that we have known them to take strange women into their homes and cohabit with them with the knowledge of, but without protest, from their wives and children. So great is their moral putridity that it is no uncommon thing for step-fathers to have children by their step-daughters, with the consent of the wife and mother of the girl. Nor do other ties of relationship interpose moral barriers, for fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters, oblivious of decent social restrictions, abandon themselves without attempt at self-restraint to sexual gratification whenever desire and opportunity arises. That such licentiousness is prevalent is not surprising, when we reflect that animal impulse is the sole master, to which both sexes yield unquestioned obedience. Not only is negro immorality without shame, remorse or contrition, but their unchaste men and women are perfidious, malevolent, and cowardly in their relations, and with reckless obliviousness to consequences eagerly gloat over each other’s frailties and readily betray the indiscretions of their companions in guilt. Moreover, the contradictions of the freedman’s nature are such that, while imputations of personal impurity are resented by the known impure, there is a common disposition to question each other’s morals, and rarely is either male or female accorded a clean bill

of approval. Soberly speaking, negro nature is so craven and sensuous in every fibre of its being that negro manhood with decent respect for chaste womanhood does not exist." (*The American Negro*, pp. 179, 180.)

Utterly unscrupulous in other matters along the lines I have here been touching upon in this chapter, I may say that thirty years ago, at a time I was a medical student in college and called upon to examine microscopically every cell to be found in the human organization, by applying to a negro, I was never at a loss to secure for such a purpose an absolutely recent specimen of the human spermatic fluid. Ordinarily it was furnished me by some sable representative of the race within arm's length of my microscope, for the very moderate sum of twenty-five cents.

On another occasion, I desired to observe all the normal movements of a woman in the pangs of childbirth. There was no trouble in finding in Washington (D. C.) in those days a young negress with a slight dash of white blood in her composition about to give birth to her first child. Such a one I went, by her permission, to see one evening, and a most voluptuous creature she was, to be sure. With scarcely a word of persuasion, she was induced to remove every particle of clothing she had on, and very shortly afterwards her labor commenced, the mother-to-be reclining, at my suggestion, for the struggle upon a hard mattress simply covered with a thin india-rubber spread. She was instructed not to in any manner control her expressions of pain either in her physical movements or her screams or mutterings. These instructions were cheerfully complied with, and the

scene which followed was one of the most extraordinary in my entire medical experience. Her contortions were superb and utterly natural; her groans and screams were unconfined and were poured out without the least restraint. Not one bit of assistance did I render her from the very first little indication she received that the child had started on its career for the outer world until everything was completely over, even to include the passage of the secundines. It would have been a worthy subject for the modern biograph, and the lesson was by no means lost upon me. I have never forgotten so much as a single part of it, and it is only briefly described here with the sole view of throwing a single ray of light,—a side-light—upon a certain phase of negro passion. No part of all that is here being set forth in regard to the peculiar sexual instincts of these people is in any way so done in a spirit of criticism, much less with reprehensory intent. Negroes are not responsible for the kind of men and women they are. It is their nature, and they cannot possibly rid themselves of that, any more than skunks and polecats can cast away their abominable scent glands and the outrageous odors they emit. It is not everybody who cares, however, to have a large number of skunks and polecats in the community.

With such freedom in the matter of sexual congress among the blacks, one would naturally be led to suppose that their lascivious instincts and proclivities would be satisfied through these practices. This, however, is by no means the case, and negroes of all ages and both sexes, commonly are prone to auto-erotic indulgences; in other words, masturbation

in its various forms, especially among colored children, is characteristic of them. This, as they grow older, easily leads to congress between the sexes, with the results above pointed out. As a rule, negro women in this country are not naturally modest, and as the majority of the girls begin to indulge in carnal intercourse by the time they arrive at the age of puberty, what little they ever possessed is soon lost. To be sure, through their intense desire to imitate the whites in all matters, many negroes possess a mock modesty, but it is often only skin-deep, and where they exist in large numbers, and few whites reside, they are as devoid of anything of the kind, as are their relatives in the Soudan. As in so many other races, the sensuality of the negro in the United States goes hand in hand with his religious superstitions. The utter sexual abandonment among them is for this reason so commonly seen at their famous camp-meetings; their oft-repeated railroad excursions given for the benefit of their churches, but more particularly enjoyed, for the reason that they are fraught with unbridled lust from first to last. And, as to their voodoo practices in the South and elsewhere, they simply reek in their history with every unnatural crime in the calendar of bestial sensuality. A voodoo dance at its height would soon convince one that it is not necessary to go to Africa to meet with that species of negro moral degradation that passeth all understanding and of the depth of which there is no measuring. So, too, at many of their so-called literary clubs, where drunkenness, gambling and lewd dancing hold full sway. It has been stated upon good authority that the negroes of this country spend

between sixty and seventy millions of dollars on rum and tobacco annually for their own consumption, and that within the last quarter of a century all of the several venereal diseases have enormously increased among them. The reason for this is well-known, but it is not necessary to dwell further upon it here.

I have presented enough, I think, thus far in the present chapter to illustrate what an intensely sensuous and lascivious race the negro race is—utterly lacking in sexual chastity among themselves, and highly dangerous in all these particulars to the whites who chance to reside in the same region with them.

The very important question now arises is there any remedy for all this, in so far as the redemption of the American negro is concerned? My firm conviction is that there is none, absolutely none. It is impossible to improve the morals of a people when they have no morals to improve. Every one who knows anything of the typical negro, knows full well that he is an utterly non-moral being, and to endow the whole race of them in this country with a sound morality would be just as impossible as it would be to change the color of his skin and take the kink out of his hair. Few there are who realize this fact.

Thomas proposes, as an expedient, that "The only feasible hope for such a consummation centres in such white women of the North as may be aroused to a sense of the needs and wants of a degraded black sisterhood, and who, by going to its relief, shall train the young negro women into abhorrence for immorality, and lead them to chaste living." (*The American Negro*, pp. 206, 207.)

Did any one ever hear of a more chimerical propo-

sition than this? It far transcends the pale of ordinary stupidity! In the United States, taking figures at the lowest estimate, there are now at least 200,000 negro girls and women who are licentious to the last degree and absolutely lacking in every moral sense. These are being continually recruited by the regular negro birth rate. It would require fully 10,000 "white women of the North" to take hold of this matter at all with any hope for success, and pray where are they to come from? Where are they to go to and commence? And what would it all avail? Absolutely nothing, and to discuss any such scheme merely means a dead loss of time, money, paper and ink, in this place, and the negro is altogether too well-known to me in this country for me to further entertain such an asinine suggestion in the present connection.

It is a marvel to me that such a writer and such a keen and thoughtful observer as the author of *The American Negro* must be, could be so illogical in other directions, and especially one who says and who knows that "The extent of the crime instinct in the negro is indeterminate for the reason that accurate data are unattainable. In so far as he has been held to an outward observance of moral restraints, it is obvious that fear of bodily harm has been the chief influence which has kept him in check. That his nature is surcharged with latent ferocity is shown by abundant evidence of atrociousness, committed on weak and defenceless objects. Indeed, there is good ground for believing that, were the negro once convincingly assured of personal security, all the malignity of his slumbering savagery would immediately find expression in the most revolting acts of physical lawlessness.

His passions are easily excited, and his feelings readily inflamed to the point of reckless vindictiveness, though a natural unsteadiness of character renders him fickle and unstable in purpose" (pp. 208, 209).

By nature, the negro is, in fact, capable of committing any known crime in so far as his intelligence will permit him to be the author of it. For the lack of such intelligence and often for the lack of a sufficient amount of courage, there are fortunately limitations to some of the heinous criminal acts he might otherwise be guilty of, and be forever committing. But lacking in courage, intelligence, forethought, and the necessary staying powers, the criminal negro is perforce restricted to certain of the coarser and grosser crimes in the calendar, not requiring these several prerequisites. His murders are clumsy and brutal; his thefts of all kinds are usually paltry and liable to being easily detected; except for the purposes of spite or to cover other crimes, he rarely resorts to arson; while to the refinements of criminality in other directions he is quite a stranger.

However, all things considered, and notwithstanding the enormous amount of crime of all kinds committed by negroes in the United States, the one above all others for which he is held especially responsible by the American descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race, is that of his assaults upon white women. These heinous, devilish, fiendish cases of rape are often associated with the murder of the victim after the assault, and they have become so common in many parts of the country where negroes abound, that a fearful species of terror has come to prevail and haunt the minds of all the white women who for one reason or



Fig. 10. Lynching of Henry Smith, Paris, Texas, Feb. 1, 1893. Exhibiting the negro, after his capture, by driving him in a wagon around the Square at Paris.
(Hudson, photo.)

11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

another reside within the same region. Indeed, matters have come to such a pass in these respects that no white woman, no white girl, and, in fact, no white child can, with any safety at all, venture out alone in those districts and places where negroes have more or less full sway. For, if not directly accosted, they may be subjected to all manner of glances from the negro men, or to insinuating remarks, or, if the opportunity be still more favorable, to direct assault and violence. Such assaults may occur anywhere and at any time: city or country, night or day. Personally, I know of a case that took place many years ago on "L" street, in Washington, D. C., during the early part of the afternoon, in broad daylight. The child was a little girl not more than twelve or thirteen years of age, and her father was an officer in the military service of the United States. Her mother had sent her upon a little errand up the street, and, upon her way back, a great burly black negro accosted her, and said that he had just been talking to her mother at the house, and that she had said if he met her to take her to a candy-store before she came home and buy her some candy. The child believed the story, and followed him a few squares to where they crossed one of the city bridges (the Georgetown Tubular Bridge) in the very heart of the town. Here he suddenly seized her in his arms, and making a leap, was instantly in some shrubbery that grew beneath the bridge. Out came his great clasp-knife, at which the child screamed fearfully, and some men overhead hearing her cries landed by her on the jump, not however, before the negro had ripped up her clothing in front with his knife, severely choked her and then

making a dash for a nearby lumber yard, escaped amidst the high piles of timber before any one had realized what had happened. With the father I hunted for that negro until long after dark, both of us being armed with revolvers. The father undoubtedly would have shot him on sight, as he frequently so expressed himself, while, for my part, I should simply have halted him and allowed the people to take him. The would-be raper was never discovered in this case. Fortunately, he did not have the necessary time to mutilate the child — a most lovely little girl and a great favorite — by which I mean he did not have the time to increase the size of her genital fissure by an ugly upward rip of his knife, a common practice among negroes when they assault little white girls. Such is the class of cases which for years past have terrified Southern mothers, which have filled fathers, husbands and brothers with apprehension throughout the great black belt in the South, and, owing to the peculiar nature of the knowledge, they cannot well communicate to their little growing daughters or even those of maturer years, without putting ideas in their minds, which in many instances would be harmful. In other words, there is an ever-present danger for them, against which a warning becomes extremely necessary but highly undesirable upon many accounts. It is this state of affairs, which is so little appreciated by the people in the northern part of the United States, but which has induced so many of the finest women in the South, and those occupying the best positions in society, both as regards social requirements as well as by gentle birth, to represent this sad condition of affairs in the pages of our most widely-known serial magazines.

But what has it availed? Nothing absolutely! The negro is neither responsible for his animal nature any more than he is for the opportunities he takes to gratify the normal impulses which are a part of him. It is not a case of changing the spots on the leopard, although some, indeed many, think this to be the case, as, for example, a party who in *The New York Evening Telegram* of January 28th, 1904, a paper of the widest circulation, claims to have discovered a treatment which, if adopted by the negro, will have the effect of turning his skin as white as the whitest Caucasian that ever lived. Just as though all the savagery, cannibalistic tendencies, thievish propensities, mendacity and the rest were in the *skin* of this benighted race! Such an expedient might, if effective, prove to be of some political value, but it would be worse than useless biologically, for, in many instances, the danger sign would be removed and greater would be the opportunity for that semimetamorphosed race to mix its cannibalistic blood with that of the unsuspecting Anglo-Saxon in the United States. Whatever the inventor may think of the skin-bleaching properties of his invention, it can, of course, be nothing more than one of those cheap American nostrums now so frequently introduced into the market with the hope of gaining money, but absolutely valueless in so far as their being able to effect what their exploiters claim for them.

Throughout the country, as a whole, I do not believe that the number of assaults upon white women by negroes are in any way diminishing in number, or in their fiendish brutality as time goes on. Indeed, I believe in some sections they even seem to be on the

increase, the number of such cases being greater each year. It seems to me that such cases now average at least one a day for the entire country over. They are well exemplified by the following one from *The New York Herald*:

WOMAN AND CHILD A NEGRO'S VICTIMS

Business Man Finds One with Throat Cut and the Other with Head Crushed — Mob Watches the Prison — Mayor of Virginia Town Orders the Military Company to be Ready for Lynchers.

“Roanoke, Va., Saturday.—When George J. Shields, a well-known young business man, reached his home, in the heart of the city, at the luncheon hour today, he found his three-year-old daughter Mildred lying on the reception hall floor with two ugly wounds in the head. Following blood-stains from the dining room to an upstairs chamber, he found his wife in a clothes closet with her throat cut from ear to ear and her head horribly hacked. Mrs. Shields managed to gasp:— ‘A large black negro man came through the kitchen and attacked me in the dining-room.’

“Excepting this, there is no clew to the criminal. Mrs. Shields had been assaulted, after which her assailant dealt her several blows on the head with a hatchet, fracturing the skull, dragged her upstairs, where he cut her throat with a razor and threw her into a closet, fastening the door on the outside.

“The dining-room floor bore evidences of a terrible struggle. The physicians entertain little hope for the recovery of either the mother or child.

“Ever since the discovery of the tragedy, a large

crowd of citizens has been in the vicinity of the city jail, watching to see if the police carry any one into the building. At eight o'clock tonight this crowd numbered more than a thousand men. Mayor Cutchin has ordered Captain Francis, of the Roanoke Blues military company, to assemble his men as a precautionary measure.

"By order of the Mayor, all the saloons were closed at eight o'clock tonight."

This was in the issue of Sunday, January 31, 1904 (p. 4). The coolness with which this vile assault is related in the *Herald* stands in evidence of the fact that the people at large are becoming altogether too used to tales of this character, and, except at the place where the crime is committed, they fail to excite the universal sense of horror that they formerly did.

In the APPENDIX to the present book, at the close of the volume, I have selected from various sources and newspapers quite a number of cases of this kind, so that the reader, by studying them, may become thoroughly informed as to their brutality, and the various circumstances under which they have occurred. (See APPENDIX, Note 4, p. 206, *et seq.*)

In a large proportion of cases if the negro assaulter and murderer is captured by the infuriated mob, a lynching takes place; in other words, the culprit is summarily taken out somewhere and is simply hung, or hung and shot, or hung, shot and tortured. I have taken occasion to illustrate fully by means of reproductions of actual photographs a typical example of one of these lynchings that took place some years ago in the state of Texas, in a town called Paris.

There are seven of these illustrations, and they were secured by me only after extreme difficulty. For this assistance I am primarily indebted to my young friend, Mr. S. Emmet Robertson of Haskell, Texas, who interested parties in his State in my behalf; also to Mr. W. E. Sherrill of the same city for securing the name and residence of the photographer who took them. This latter was Mr. J. L. Mertins of Wolfe City, Texas, who, with marked generosity, has presented me with the entire set of these pictures, one of which (the parade) I see was taken by Mr. Hudson of Paris, Texas, who is unknown to me. Mr. Mertins, who still has photographs from these negatives for sale, has also, in my case, waived the copyright on them, so they could be employed as illustrations in the present work. To all these gentlemen my sincere thanks are herewith extended.

The criminal in this case was an unusually black and brutal negro by the name of Henry Smith, and his victim was little Myrtle Vance (æ.t. three years, eight months and a day), whom he outraged and murdered at Paris, Texas, where the infuriated people of the place burned him on the 1st of February, 1893, the day of his crime. My illustrations show the Vance family; the sheriffs and others at the spot where the body was found; the parade in the streets of Paris, Texas, after the negro was captured, and were leading him to the place of execution beyond the town limits; a general view of the crowd about the scaffold where Smith was burned alive; the party fastening him to the stake on the scaffold; the tortures commenced, showing a man engaged in burning his feet with red-hot irons; the same, showing the terrible

writhings of the negro after the fagots were lighted; and, finally, the rekindling of the latter, in order to burn down the scaffold and cremate the lifeless body of Smith, now seen to be leaning over, having parted company with the stake to which he was originally fastened.

In these pictures attention is especially invited to the large size and marked coolness and quietness of the mob; its typically Texan composition; and the methodical manner in which they are conducting the execution. It is said that the victim screamed and howled at a terrible rate, and that all this, from start to finish, was recorded by a graphophone, and that this has been used at various exhibitions to illustrate a full set of biographic pictures which were made at the same time. So far as I am concerned, however, all this is mere hear-say, and I have never seen any such exhibition, though I have friends who tell me that they have. Possibly this may have been accomplished at some other lynching, and not at Henry Smith's; in any event, it matters but little, as cold-blooded as such a procedure would be. It is said that the man begged the crowd to kill him,—to shoot him, a dozen times before the burning fagots caused his death. (See APPENDIX, Note 5, p. 232.)

With respect to lynching, Thomas, in his work on *The American Negro*, says: "It is not the number of negroes lynched that makes such acts execrable, for the annual summary executions are less than two hundred, but the fact that such lawless methods deny to the accused the exercise of his highest privilege,—a free and impartial trial before a legally-constituted tribunal. Were this phase of lawlessness directed

solely against criminal assaults on women, it might have a color of justification; but while that is the offence for which negroes are mainly lynched, there are not infrequently summary executions of them for murder, arson and theft. Heinous and inexcusable brutalities have also been perpetrated upon this people for no other reason than their affiliation with the Republican party. A carnival of injustice and cruelty drove them from the domain of politics. Demoralization followed; and then a retributive justice brought disaster to those who were the chief instigators of the forceful exclusion of the negro from the political field.

"Lynching may be correctly described as the infliction of summary punishments for alleged offences, without authority of law; and there is among sane minds common agreement that such lawless violence is an execrable usurpation of ordained legal functions. As a mode of punishment for the freedmen criminal class, there is never, under any circumstances, excuse or justification for resorting to it. It cannot be said that it is to be approved by the best sentiment of any community, yet when inflicted upon negroes for the commission of certain crimes, the perpetrators are assured of absolute immunity from punishment. No negro is likely to be legally acquitted in the South of the charge of criminal assault, or, in fact, of any heinous offence, when a strong presumption of guilt exists. No negro charged with criminal assault upon a white woman ever has been acquitted. Hence, there is justification for the assertion that, so far as the white people are concerned, the impulse to indulge in mob brutalities arises from their low sense of accountability to law; that their lawlessness is the se-



Fig. 11. General scene of the lynching of the negro Henry Smith. (Mertins, photo.)

[illegible]

quence of freedom from those restraints which obtain in law-abiding communities.

"Lynching is resorted to merely to appease and gratify an instinctive brutality on the part of a lawless element of the white race. No man can foresee the final results of such disorders. Nevertheless, it is evident that, if current individual usurpations of authority continue, all legal morality and social obedience will cease, our civilization will be erased, and barbaric methods will take the place of law and order. What the South needs is an enforcement of equitable law. Its mobs now exercise a tremendous discretionary power, of such far-reaching consequences as should make men pause in their madness.

"The question has been raised again and again as to why the national government does not take cognizance of local disorders, and use its authority for the suppression of lynching. But one familiar with the genius of our social organism will readily understand that constitutional limitations effectually intervene. The Federal government is limited to national interests. It is inhibited from taking cognizance of the acts of individual citizens, except as they may become trespassers upon national rights. Under existing conditions, then, national functions can neither deal with white lawlessness nor cope with black criminals, and no enactment by the Congress of the United States touching this matter would have the slightest standing in the Federal judiciary. (See APPENDIX, Note 5, for light on this point.) We do not doubt but that Congress has the constitutional right to enact a law for the trial and punishment of lynchers by United States courts, when the victims of mob vio-

lence are aliens or non-resident citizens. In such cases, the responsibility of the Federal government for individual protection seems to be established. On the other hand, the state is supreme within its own domain, and has full and complete control over its citizens. No writ nor process of law can issue, and no action can be begun in a Federal court against a citizen of a state unless the plaintiff is a resident of another state, or unless the alleged offence was committed against the United States. Personal wrongs are to be corrected and personal rights defended by that state within whose jurisdiction cause of action lies. If that state will not act on the complaint of its citizens or is powerless to enforce its decrees, the individual sufferer has no relief, so long as public sentiment is against him."

Thomas continues along this line of his argument for another paragraph or so, into which I do not care to follow him, although I concur in much that he says, and, while I am, of course, morally opposed to the system of lynching, I predict that it will be practiced in the "black belt" as long as the blacks remain in this country, and continue to assault and murder our people, and this whether they are responsible for their natures and ignorance or not, and all the law to the contrary, in so far as the mob is concerned.

Touching upon this point, Thomas continues: "We are concerned chiefly with the cause which instigates sectional lawlessness, and our message to Southern civilization is to exterminate by law its lawless white element; at the same time, to exterminate, at all hazards and at any cost, the savage despoilers of maiden virtue or wifely honor, and do it so thoroughly that

!!!
which means all male negroes

the inexorable, remorseless certitude of punishment will make the lives and persons of the women of the South as safe in field, forest and public highway as in their private homes. Our interest in the public welfare has prompted us to draft a measure for the correction of these evils, and one which we are gratified to know has received the approval of many of the leading publicists of the country. Its chief merits are the adequate safeguarding of all the rights of accused persons, the infliction of a penalty that would effectually deter others from committing like crimes, and the removal of all incitement to lawless usurpation of authority or justified excuse for its exercise. The punishment which we suggest for persons convicted by due process of law of criminal assaults upon women is an untried remedy, and the most that can be urged against it is that a heinous crime has a harsh punishment. Nevertheless, in the present abnormal condition of public morality, a measure of this kind cannot do otherwise than exert a wholesome influence on white and black society.

"It is proposed that, when any male person of the age of fifteen or upward shall be charged with an attempt to commit an assault on a female person of any age or condition, with intent to violate her chastity and have carnal knowledge of her under duress and against her will, or upon the commission of such act, such person shall undergo an examination before a court of competent jurisdiction, and, upon conviction thereof, by due process of law, shall undergo emasculation, and be further subjected to such restraint as the nature of the case and the welfare of the community justifies. It will be observed that this proposition embraces de-

terrent features, as well as punitive functions. One is as essential to the well-being of society as the other, and any measure which does not exert a restraining influence upon the vicious classes is of doubtful value" (pp. 229-235).

The propositions here made are simply too utterly puerile as to be worthy of sober consideration at my hands. They are simply senseless and idiotic, and to carry them out would be in the highest degree impossible. When a man talks about "exterminating by law the lawless white element in the South," he may just as well propose to submit the entire United States to a legal drag-net, and, having taken all the criminal and law-breaking class at one haul, they could by the courts be summarily executed right there. The hanging of all the real leaders of a mob that took part in a lynching anywhere would no more deter others from doing the same thing under similar conditions, than the execution of all the murderers we have executed in this country within the last two centuries, and they run up far into the hundreds, will prevent in the slightest degree the crime of murder among us. It is the most unmitigated nonsense to suggest the extermination of an element in society. As silly as this proposition is, however, it is not a circumstance in comparison with the absurdity of the suggestion to emasculate the negro (or any one else) as a preventive of rape, or assaults upon white women. To be sure, if emasculation is thoroughly and properly done, it renders the man completely sterile, but, on the other hand, it by no means always renders him impotent. The vulgar and lay belief is that it does, while in reality it does not. I have known several cases in

my own experience where both the testicles had been removed in a man, and yet, it not only did not deprive him of the keen desire for carnal intercourse with women, but his copulatory organ had apparently lost none of its pristine virility. His erections were as firm and as lasting, and his pleasures as voluptuous as they were prior to the accident that deprived him of his testes. I have seen many different kinds of castrated animals that could also copulate, and there was especially a horse I have in mind that could completely satisfy the most lustful little mare that was ever lined by the most vigorous of stallions,—and the said horse had been deprived of his testicles when a mere colt.

It would doubtless be a capital thing, if it could be done, to emasculate the entire negro race and all of its descendants in this country, and effectually stop the breed right now, and thus prevent any further danger from them, and the horrors of their crossing continually with the Anglo-Saxon stock. What would Thomas think of this for a scheme?

No, when a respectable white woman, in any plane of society, has been brutally assaulted and outraged by a negro, it will be of absolutely no satisfaction to her, or to any of her relatives, to know that the brutal raper had simply been carefully and kindly operated upon by a surgeon, and had his testicles removed. The fact that the bestial creature *lives* after he has accomplished the act is what neither the woman, or any of those who care for, or are connected with her, can possibly endure. Then say the duly emasculated brute is ever set at large again, what is to prevent him from wreaking his vengeance in time upon that

woman or some one of those who took part in his mutilation? The idea is simply ridiculous from whatever view-point we may regard it.

As an example of the way women feel upon this question, allow me to quote an account of a lynching that was published in *The New York Evening Journal*, in its issue of November 9, 1903. It was as follows:—

OH, LET ME KILL THAT NEGRO BRUTE.

Former New York Society Woman Wanted Her Assailant to Die — Tells Her Own Story.

Pass Christian, Miss., Nov. 9.—“Oh, kill him!” cried Mrs. Labouisse, when Sam Adams, the young negro who attacked her in the woods near her home, was brought before her for identification. “Oh, let me kill him! Let me kill that negro brute!”

It was this dramatic appeal to the men who had captured the negro that brought the feeling of rage against the crime to a white heat and determined a hundred men to hang Adams. His crime was the attempt at the usual one which results generally in lynching in the South, and in every home and every public place, there is but one opinion and that is that the negro met a deserved fate.

For the first time since the crime and its terrible sequel, Mrs. Labouisse, who was formerly Mrs. S. Osgood Pell, of New York, and who, before her marriage, was Miss Isabel Audrey Townsend, was able today to tell her story of the crime. She has been confined to her home in a high state of nervous excitement, but in consequence of the publicity that the

affair has received, she made the following statement to the press:

"I am glad that the negro was hanged," she said. "He deserved his fate. Until I knew that he was dead, I had no peace of mind. There was no mistake as to his identity or the crime that he attempted to commit.

"I went into the woods with my nurse-girl, Margaret, and my baby, to gather mushrooms. After a short time the young negro came to me and told me that my horse was loose. I told him to go get him, but the negro said that the horse would run away if a stranger approached him, and asked me to go with him. The nurse was suspicious, and begged me not to go, but I laughed at her, for the man's manner was perfectly respectful. When we reached the horse, I saw that the traces were cut, and then we started back. Suddenly he stopped and asked what he was going to get for his work.

"'Come to the house tomorrow,' I said, 'and Mr. Labouisse will reward you.'

"'I don't want Mr. Labouisse,' he said, 'I want you.'

"As he said this the negro let go the bridle and turned toward me. I gathered up my skirts and dashed toward the road. He ran after me. I ran as fast as I could, but the thick brush and trees obstructed my passage.

"Suddenly my foot caught on something and I fell. Before I could rise the negro had caught me. The moment I felt his grasp upon me I screamed as loudly as I could. I must have been a long way from the

nurse, for she did not hear me, or at all events, did not come to my assistance. The negro still held me on the ground, and I was left alone to fight the desperado.

"He drew a large knife and, holding it to my throat, threatened to kill me if I did not cease screaming and struggling. It was, of course, impossible for me to stop, so he drew down the knife and poised it above my heart.

" 'Stop!' he cried, 'or I'll kill you!'

"How long we struggled after that I do not know, but I paid no heed to his threats and was strong enough to fight the wretch off. As soon as he went away, I hastened back to where I left baby and Margaret. The nurse became greatly excited and frightened when I told her.

"We had walked about three hundred yards when we came upon Louis Allen, an estimable old negro, chopping wood with his two sons, about fifteen years old. He brought his wagon, drove us home and then told the people what had occurred. When the negro was brought before me a short time afterward, there was not the slightest doubt in my mind as to his identity. After I recognized him, the men took him away. I don't see how they could possibly have acted otherwise than they did."

As soon as the news of the attempted crime became public, John H. Lang, a prominent real estate dealer, William Trautman and S. M. Thornton drove out to the Adams house. They saw Sam sitting on the fence. As they approached, he got down, went through the house and began to run into the woods. He had one hundred yards start, and, after emptying a magazine

rifle and a shot gun at him, he was halted and taken to the Labouisse house.

"When we got there," said Mr. Lang, "We took the negro before Mrs. Labouisse.

" 'Do you know this negro?' I asked.

" 'Yes,' she answered; 'he is the one who attacked me an hour ago.'

" 'Are you certain?' I asked her, for in Pass Christian we are not given to lynching the wrong man.

" 'Yes,' replied Mrs. Labouisse; 'I am certain that is he.' Then she called out her nurse and old man Allen. They identified him, too. Mrs. Labouisse lost control of herself.

" 'Let me kill him! Oh, let me kill that negro brute!' she cried in a terrible voice that we who heard it shall never forget. We hurried Adams away toward the jail, and the servants calmed Mrs. Labouisse."

A meeting was called at the Knights of Honor hall, in Pass Christian, and Adams was sentenced to death. The constable was advised to get Adams out of the county that night, and it was while he was being taken away that he was captured and strung up. When the rope was thrown around his neck, a voice said: "Adams, you have ten minutes in which to pray and repent."

"I don't want to pray none," said the doomed man sullenly.

For five minutes everybody waited, and then the same voice asked again:

"What have you to say before you die?"

Adams shifted his leg lazily from one leg to the other. By the light of a single lantern in the midst

of a tragic group his face could be clearly discerned. His black forehead drew itself into a frown, as if he were thinking hard. Suddenly his face cleared, as if he had found what he sought.

"Ah wish," he said simply, "that when you all gets through with me you'd jes' give my shoes to my pa!"

And with this anti-climax, absurd in spite of the tragedy, the negro was hanged. (See APPENDIX, Note 6, p. 246.)

Now does anyone for a moment suppose that even in the event of emasculation rendering this negro impotent, it would have a particle of influence in deterring thousands of other ignorant negroes, who, from their gross ignorance, would never hear of this case, living in widely separated districts all over the country, from doing likewise? Not for one single instant when their passions have been aroused and the means of gratifying them is within their reach.

With the surgeon's knife actually pressing upon his scrotum; with the blazing fagots so near him that he could actually feel the heat of their flames, he would nevertheless seize his victim and outrage her if it lay within his power to do so. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, in cases similar to the one just quoted, the negro having gotten his nearly-exhausted victim down in the brush, then by the threats with his murderous knife, deprived her by fright of nearly all the remaining strength she had left for a struggle with a brutal person of probably five times her strength, would, in the end, compel her to yield to his infamous desires. And, in the case of any chaste woman, if she survived the terrors of the shock, the probable injuries inflicted, the scandal and other feel-

ings more easily to be imagined than described, would very naturally cry out that her assaulter be deprived of his life at the shortest possible notice, and that she should have the satisfaction of at least not running any risk of ever seeing him again. Then too, we must consider the reluctance of white women and their relatives to testify as witnesses in examining trials, where they would be confronted with the brute (protected by the law) and be subjected to cross-questioning at the hands of the negro's "attorney" (!).

CHAPTER VIII

Discussion of Remedies, Opinions of Others, Probabilities in the Future.

HAVING now in the foregoing chapters of this book defined exactly what the genus *Homo* is from the only view-point from which we can consistently consider man,—that is the biological one; and having, in following chapters, studied the negro race along similar lines and demonstrated the extreme undesirability of permitting that race to interbreed with the white race in the United States of America, we come at last, in the present chapter, to a point where it appears it would seem fitting to discuss briefly some of the remedies that may now be suggested to solve, or as far as possible alleviate, what now has come to be so widely known as the “negro problem” in this country.

All sorts of views have been taken of this matter and by all sorts of people. The uninformed layman, utterly lacking in a knowledge of the essential principles of general biology requisite to pass upon the dangers involved in permitting a mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and negro races to go on, naturally proposes the *laissez-faire* rule and claims that the condition will solve itself, and that it does not involve any problem. Then we read the various views of the situation entertained by the maudlin Christian and humanitarian; those of the politician and of the Southern agricultur-

ist, and the representatives of a number of other factions or classes. Finally, we hear and read of a great many kinds of opinions advanced on the state of affairs we are considering by the negroes themselves, especially by such half-breeds as Booker T. Washington, Du Bois, and their ilk. Indeed, with respect to this last class, it is only those who have a great share of the dominant or white race in their composition who are at all capable or in any way fitted to express an opinion, or of saying anything worth the price of the ink it would take to print it.

After all has been said, however, on this subject, all along the line, there remains but one remedy at all worthy of our consideration, and that is the complete segregation of the two races. (See APPENDIX, Note 7, p. 247.) If they are left to occupy the same geographical area, as they now do, they will continue to interbreed, in spite of anything man can do to prevent the disaster, and it will simply result in the formative white stock in this country taking up into its compound mixture, comprising of a variety of stocks from the Old World, all the negro stock now in the United States. So that, in the course of a few more centuries, the blacks will gradually be absorbed and all the evil effects resulting from such an amalgamation will have passed beyond the reach of any remedy. In time, and nature cares not a rap for time, any more than she does for results,—in time, I say, a people will be produced no single individual of which will be able to deny successfully that he or she, as the case may be, has not some of the blood of the Soudan cannibal in them. Pure Anglo-Saxons, or, more broadly speaking, the best mixture of the white

race that has come here from the Old World, can, as far as they can trace their pedigree back, meet with no such stigma attaching to their history. For myself, I can say at this writing, that, thank Fortune, there were no black cannibals among my ancestors!

No negro, no negro half-caste in this country is in favor of leaving it. You may be well-assured of that fact. On a few occasions within the past few years, small parties of them have made the feint to go, but such ruses have not deceived us. This lazy, ignorant, criminal race have altogether too good a thing in America to think seriously for a moment of returning to their own people in Africa or, in fact, of going anywhere else. It is their intention to stay right here and do all the harm to our race they can.

They have been a curse to us ever since our ancestors brought them to these shores; they have given rise to all manner of national and individual troubles since; and, in my estimation, we, the white population of this country, have no problem of higher import to consider today than this very negro problem.

For all the ample reasons I have given in the foregoing pages, I am, for one, most emphatically in favor of the adoption of any rational scheme on the part of the Federal government for transporting them out of the country. This has been my opinion for many years past, but I am sorely afraid at the present time, that it is not at all feasible, though, of course, if laws were duly enacted by the general government that they should go,—why, go they would. But governments have never been known to act in this way; they recognize the presence of the parasite; they recognize the discomforts, dangers and diseases it is setting up, but,

although it is in its power to do so, the government, the people never actually undertake any measures that would radically relieve the condition. They come pretty near it sometimes, but they never seem to have the moral and intellectual strength to push the act or acts to a final accomplishment.

As I say, I agitated this segregation, this expatriation, of the negro of this country to the best of my ability, long, long ago, when it was quite feasible to carry it out successfully. On that account many negroes were very bitter toward me, no more bitter, however, I suppose, than had I been among them in Africa, and ridiculed the cannibalistic ceremonies attending the erection of one of their Juju houses. They would have been equally provoked. Some of my published papers on this subject have been set forth in the early pages of this book, but the other day I came across the following unpublished manuscript of mine, stowed away among my personal archives. It is of some historical value, and I wrote it at Takoma, D. C., on the 16th day of January, 1893, and submitted it to the then editor of *Science*, of New York, for publication. It was promptly rejected, whereupon I mailed it to Wm. P. Garrison, Esq., the editor of *The Nation*, and a son of the famous abolitionist, Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Mr. Garrison also rejected it, and I therefore here publish both his letter to me and the aforesaid MS. in the present connection. They read as follows:—

LIBERIA AND THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

“A year ago, when the present writer published in *Science*, of New York (No. 416), his views upon ‘The

Practicability of Transporting the Negro back to Africa,' those views, when read, were characterized by a number of men of science in Washington, biologists and anthropologists included, as 'chimerical,' or 'absurd,' and the mildest epithet that was applied to them being that they were 'highly impracticable.' To those reviewers I would now say a word, and kindly invite their attention to the November bulletin of the American Colonization Society for the present year, which announces a very radical change in the plans heretofore adopted by that Society. 'When the Society was first organized, domestic slavery in this country existed in its full vigor, but the foreign slave trade had been abolished by law. The leading purpose of the Society was to improve the condition of the comparatively few negroes who were then free or might thereafter be set free by their masters, and to provide for those recaptured from slave-vessels still pursuing their nefarious and at that time unlawful traffic. Various projects were deliberately considered, and it was finally decided to return them to their native land and found a colony on the west coast of Africa. Hence came Liberia, with its eventful culmination in an independent republic, as we find it today, and its seventy-five years of most interesting history.'

"The Society has at last come to believe that 'no legislation can abolish race prejudice and social discrimination, and it is believed that the negro can have a freedom for development in Liberia which no laws, however just or favorable, will secure him in this country.'

"And, after propounding numerous questions to the readers of its Bulletin, it further asks: 'Shall Liberia

be pointed to as another evidence of the inferiority and incapacity of the negro?' 'How can the more intelligent negroes of the United States expect to overcome the prejudice here, of which they so bitterly complain, if the race everywhere else on the globe, and especially in Africa, its ancestral home for centuries, is forever to be in a state of barbarism, anarchy or servile dependence on nations who claim racial superiority?' Without answering any of these questions, which, by the way, are by no means difficult ones for the philosophic ethnologist to solve, the Society briefly states its plans for the future as follows:—

“‘1. Colonists hereafter to be selected with special reference to the needs of Liberia, and to be located there with more care and to better advantage to themselves.

“‘2. Funds held in trust for education to be applied in ways to stimulate the Liberian government to more energetic action in establishing and fostering a system of public schools rather than to the support of independent schools.

“‘3. To aid in collecting and diffusing more full and reliable information about Liberia.

“‘4. To promote in every possible way the establishing of more direct, frequent and quicker communication between the United States and Liberia. Direct steam communication is now the pressing need, and it is believed to be practicable solely from a commercial point of view. There are now steamers running to Africa from Hamburg, Havre, Marseilles, Cadiz and Lisbon, and two a week—some as large as 4,000 tons—leave Liverpool alone for the west coast of Africa.

Surely here is a field for commerce worth the attention of commercial capitalists in the United States.

“‘ 5. The chief end of the work of the Society to be in the line of enabling and stimulating Liberia to depend less and less upon others and more and more upon herself.

“‘ Under the pressure of a disheartening and increasing competition the time is coming when, in obedience to one of the great laws of our nature, the more intelligent negroes of the United States, in larger numbers, “ will come under the efficient motive which propels man to all enterprises — the desire to better his condition ” — and they will turn their faces toward the land whence they came. When quicker and cheaper communication is accomplished, as it surely will be at no distant day, and the passage can be made in eight or ten days, instead of taking a month as it now does, and the people of the two countries can communicate back and forth at short intervals, colonization will begin to take care of itself and Liberia will receive a fresh and powerful impulse. The great gain in time by direct steam communication with readily be seen from a statement of the following distances: “ From New York to Liverpool, 3,115 miles; from Liverpool to Liberia, 3,250 miles — making the whole distance from New York to Liberia, by way of Liverpool, 6,365 miles; direct distance from New York to Liberia, 3,720 miles, or only 605 miles greater than the distance from New York to Liverpool.”

“‘ Bishop Henry C. Potter, of New York, is now president of the Society, and Mr. J. Ormond Wilson of this city, is acting as secretary, and Mr. Reginald Fendall, also of this city, as treasurer. The office of

the Society still remains in the Colonization building, 450 Pennsylvania avenue.' (See APPENDIX, Note 8, p. 248.)

"We sincerely trust, for the mutual benefit of the two races, that Bishop Potter will succeed with his present plans of the American Colonization Society, and that when 'quicker and cheaper communication is accomplished' the negroes 'will turn their faces toward the land whence they came.' Liberia most sorely needs the aid, the pecuniary aid, of some of the richer members of the race now sojourning with us, for in 1871 she borrowed the small sum of \$500,000 from Great Britain and has never been able to return a single dollar of it since, nor a 'ha'penny's' interest on the same. "R. W. SHUFELDT."

Takoma, D. C., January 16, 1893.

Mr. Garrison's letter read thus:—

THE NATION, 208 Broadway (P. O. Box 794),
NEW YORK, Jan. 18, 1893.

"*Dear Dr. Shufeldt:* It surprises me that you, an evolutionist, should be found attaching yourself to that 'survival' known as the American Col. Society. It is a little more than 60 years ago since my father hit it the hardest whack it ever received, and utterly discredited it in the eyes of the real philanthropists of this country. All the economic objections to it are as strong now as then; its reliance is the same, barring the pecuniary support of slaveholders, viz.—on the spirit of caste; and nothing astonishes me more than to see Bishop Potter accepting the presidency, when I know his opinion of my father after reading his Life. There is nothing new in the

Society's programme:— it is, to raise all the wind it can to afford a living for its officers. Its humbug colony has been a stench for seventy years, and is no place for any human being to go to to elevate himself. The Congo Free State would be infinitely preferable. But the blacks will not go, and those who declared it to be the hand of Providence that brought them here to be slaves must view the same hand in the perseverance of their stay as freemen.

ical Northern "Thanks for your interesting pamphlets. *of their England*
at the time "Sincerely yours,

"W. P. GARRISON."

(See APPENDIX, Note 9, p. 272.)

To the best of my recollection, to this letter I made no reply. It needed no reply from me, for at that time the American Colonization Society, with Bishop Potter at its head, was doing all in its power to induce, by eminently peaceful means, the negro to return to his native home in Africa.

And here we are, fourteen years afterwards, after the above MS. and letter were written, still struggling with the same horrid problem. We are still in the coils of this great black snake we warmed at the country's hearthstone so many, many years ago. All the daily papers still discuss the propriety of shipping as many negroes as possible out of our country. Send them here, send them there, send them anywhere, but let us not tolerate them any longer. Africa has been proposed; Hayti has been suggested; the Philippines have been mentioned, yet nothing has been done. Still he remains, while a few half-breeds that have attained

to a little power of expressing their minds on the subject, as in the case of Du Bois and the short dozen others, keeping howling for the negroes "social uplifting," and his remaining in the United States. None of these men dare tell the truth, as Thomas did in his book, *The American Negro*,—still even the Ethiopian cropped out, as it invariably will, in this last-named author, before he got through his last chapter.

I am not going to enter upon the history of Liberia here, although I have collected not a little upon that subject. If the transportation of the negroes in this country could be effected, I, for one, would not care a straw whether the negroes liked it or not. I should be for sending them all the same, and keeping them out afterwards, just as the Federal government enacted laws to keep the Chinese out of our territory. The Chinese are infinitely better than the negroes, although they, too, from the very nature of their non-progressiveness, are unsuited to the form of Indo-European civilization we are the active cultivators of in this country. But the black man with us is a very different proposition, as I have abundantly pointed out in the foregoing pages. No, were it possible, I should be in favor of shipping every living one of them back to the region they came from, whether it pleased them or not. I am so loyal to anything that will sustain the purity of the best of Indo-European blood in the United States; drain it of superstition of all kinds; purge it of crime and immorality; preserve its integrity,—that I would see every negro in America at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, or howling in the heart of the Soudan, before I would allow them for any consideration whatever, to jeopardize by race in-

"Shut Atlantic?"

Because you are Eastern man!

termixture the civilization it has taken us centuries to establish.

As I have remarked before, it is not that I have anything against the black race in the United States, but I infinitely prefer to see all the elements of this great and growing Republic we are establishing here kept pure, on the same principle that were I building up a fine aviary, I certainly would not tolerate the presence of a lot of black, undesirable, unrefined, flesh-eating vultures among my sweet-singing, educated and attractive bullfinches,— that is all.

The talk is all humbug about the value of the negro vote. It has no value, because it can be bought by the barrel. So, too, it is all humbug to contend for the great value of the negro in the South as a laborer. Every living one of them might be wiped out of the South tomorrow, and whites would soon fill their room, and matters in time adjust themselves, and that with very decided profit to our civilization.

Today, the best people, and the most far-seeing thinkers begin to realize the career upon which the black race is now launched here in the States. As fast as they take up in their composition the blood of the Indo-European, they still remain loyal in every single instance to their kind, and use their advantages simply to seek social equality with the dominant race. They crave political power and position, and were they sufficiently numerous, they would seize it everywhere at all hazards. It is only their inferiority in numbers which prevents them from doing this. All this is becoming more and more evident to our people in the "black belt," and it is dawning even on the thinkers throughout the Northern States.

but not always the case

Even education is a disadvantage to him, and in no way purges him of his superstitions, as has recently been so ably pointed out in *The New York Times* for Wednesday, January 20, 1904, on page 7, by no less a person and close observer of the negro character than the honorable Governor of the state of Mississippi, who, in the aforesaid issue of *The Times*, was pleased to bring the following before its readers:

SCORES NEGRO EDUCATION

**Mississippi's Governor Calls It the Black Man's Curse —
Says the Negro is Deteriorating Morally Every Day —
Wants Fifteenth Amendment Repealed.**

"Jackson, Miss., Jan. 19.—In his inaugural address, delivered today before a joint session of the Mississippi Legislature, Gov. Vardaman declared that the growing tendency of the negro to commit criminal assault on white women was nothing more nor less than the manifestation of the racial desire for social equality. In strong terms he declared that education was the curse of the negro race, and urged an amendment to the state Constitution that would place the distribution of the common school fund solely within the power of the Legislature. Continuing, Gov. Vardaman said of the negroes:

"As a race they are deteriorating morally every day. Time has demonstrated that they are more *Also* criminal as freemen than as slaves; that they are *Statistics* increasing in criminality with frightful rapidity, being one-third more criminal in 1890 than in 1880.

"The startling facts revealed by the census show that those who can read and write are more criminal.

than the illiterates, which is true of no other element of our population. I am advised that the minimum illiteracy among the negroes is found in New England, where it is 21.7 per cent. The maximum was found in the "black belt"—Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—where it is 65.7 per cent. And yet the negro in New England is four and one-half times more criminal, hundred for hundred, than he is in the "black belt." In the South, Mississippi particularly, I know he is growing worse every year.

"You can scarcely pick up a newspaper whose pages are not blackened with the account of an unmentionable crime committed by a negro brute, and this crime, I want to impress upon you, is but the manifestation of the negro's aspiration for social equality, encouraged largely by the character of free education in vogue, which the state is levying tribute upon the white people to maintain.

"The better class of negroes are not responsible for this terrible condition, nor for the criminal tendency of their race. Nor do I wish to be understood as censuring them for it. I am not censuring anybody, nor am I inspired by ill-will for the negro, but I am simply calling attention to a most unfortunate and unendurable condition of affairs. What shall be done about it?

"My own idea is that the character of the education for the negro ought to be changed. If, after years of earnest effort and the expenditure of fabulous sums of money to educate his head, we have only succeeded in making a criminal out of him and imperiling his usefulness and efficiency as a laborer, wisdom would suggest that we make another experiment and

see if we cannot improve him by educating his hand and his heart. There must be a moral substratum upon which to build or you cannot make a desirable citizen.'

"The Government also declares that the people of the Nation should demand the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment."

What is said here is undoubtedly true, but I contend, and others who have a large knowledge of the black man in America contend, that there is but one single remedy for it, and that is the separation of the two races. Here are some additional opinions of interest on this point which I clip from *The New York Times* of Monday, September 28, 1903, page 1, a news item that reads as follows:

NEGRO COLONIZATION PLAN

The President and B. T. Washington Said to Approve Scheme to Transport Families to Africa.

(Special to The New York Times.)

"Tacoma, Wash., Sept. 27.—Leigh S. J. Hunt, a Korean millionaire mining man and ex-resident of this state, and Booker T. Washington have joined hands in a negro colonization scheme. Details of Hunt's plans are supplied in letters recently received by his personal friends. They include the irrigation and colonization of several hundred thousand acres of land tributary to the River Nile by negroes who are to be taken from the United States. Mr. Hunt is now in Germany. In a few days, it is said, he will meet Mr. Washington in Africa, probably at Cairo, Egypt. They will there perfect plans.

" Letters from Hunt are to the further effect that President Roosevelt has approved his plans. These were revealed to the President when the latter entertained Hunt at dinner a few days prior to his departure for Africa. Before completing his plans Hunt, late in August, sought the advice of Booker T. Washington, whom he met in New York. 'I can get you all the colored laborers you need,' said Washington.

" Then came the colonization idea. Washington approved, saying that thousands of negro families in the South would gladly embrace a chance of going to the Soudan and making new homes. The growing of cotton and sugar-cane and kindred products would furnish negroes with employment well suited to them.

" Hunt has made millions out of Korean gold-mines during the last six years. He went to the Nile to recover his health, and became interested in his colonization project."

" Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 27.—In an address before a mass meeting of negroes in this city, Bishop Henry H. Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church declared that the separation of the races was the only solution to the race problem.

" Bishop Turner urged that opportunities should be offered to negroes to settle in Africa by a reduction of rates on steamship lines, stating that 'this Nation or its aggregated people will either have to open a highway to Africa for the discontented black man or the negro question will flinder this Government.'

" Bishop Turner contended that by separation he did not mean that every one should go or must go, but

that there should be an opportunity granted for the departure of 'such black men and women as are self-reliant and have those manhood aspirations that God planted in them and degrading laws will intensify.' "

A few months ago, Mr. John Temple Graves of Georgia, a clear thinker and a very cogent writer on the negro question, expressed his views in public in the boldest possible manner, both on the matter of lynching and on the ultimate separation of the two races. He was reported in *The New York Times* of Wednesday, August 12, 1903, in the following manner:

HE DEFENDS LYNCH LAW

John Temple Graves of Georgia Says the Mob is Necessary — The Penalty Prescribed by Law, He Declares, Will Never Prevent Assaults by Negroes on White Women.

"Chautauqua, N. Y., Aug. 11.—Lynching was warmly defended by John Temple Graves of Atlanta, Ga., in an address at Chautauqua today.

" 'The problem of the hour,' said Mr. Graves, 'is not how to prevent lynching in the South, but the larger question: How shall we destroy the crime which always has and always will provoke lynching? The answer which the mob returns to this vital question is already known. The mob answers it with the rope, the bullet, and sometimes, God save us! with the torch. And the mob is practical; its theory is effective to a large degree. The mob is today the sternest, the strongest, and the most effective restraint that the age holds for the control of rape.'

"The lyncher, he said, does not exterminate the

rapist, but he holds him mightily in check. As a sheer, cold, patent fact, the mob stands today as the most potential bulwark between the women of the South and such a carnival of crime as would infuriate the world and precipitate the annihilation of the negro race. The masses of the negro, he held, are not afraid of death coming in a regular way. They love display and the spectacular element of a trial and execution to their imaginations.

"Expediting the processes of the law would not be adequate to eliminate lynching, said Mr. Graves. The repeal of the amendments and the establishment of the negro's interiority in law and society, though desirable, are not sufficient, 'for the negro,' he added, 'is a thing of the senses, and with this race and with all similar races the desire of the senses must be restrained by the terror of the senses, if possible under the law.'

"But this, like curfew edicts, separate laws for white and black, or the treatment of the crime of criminal assault as separate and outside of all other codes, are but expedients, he maintained; there is no real remedy but one. No statute will permanently solve this problem. Religion does not solve it, he said. Education complicates it. Politics complicates it.

"'The truth, which lies beyond and above all these temporizing expedients,' he concluded, 'is that separation is the logical, the inevitable, the only solution of this great problem of the races.'"

His words and address provoked very general discussion throughout the country, and hundreds of dif-



Fig. 13. Lynching of Henry Smith. The torture. Burning his feet with a red iron. (Mertins, photo.)

*The white man's piggyback which has
centuries in*

To be a Negro in a day like this
 Demands forgiveness. Trained with blow on blow,
 Entrapped like him whose woe dimmed eyes gave bliss
 still.

To be a Negro in a day like this.

Forgive Nothing

ferent newspapers took sides for and against what he said.

In this chapter, however, I am dealing principally with the remedies that have been proposed to protect the civilization and the integrity of the Indo-European in the United States, and the separation of the two races is the one chiefly under discussion here. This being the case, it is quite to the point to introduce in this place the words of another writer, as an example of not only what the views of Mr. Graves brought out, but also to sustain what I have said above, that the proposition of transporting the black man and his kin out of the United States of America is by no means a dead issue.

Here is the letter to which reference is made. It appeared in *The New York Times* for Sunday, September 27, 1903:

SEGREGATION OF THE NEGRO

"To the Editor of The New York Times:

"Your editorial of the 7th inst. fails to do full justice to John Temple Graves, who proposes to segregate and colonize the negro. I am a Northern man, and my view-point might have been like your own, had I remained a thousand miles removed from the South. A residence of twenty-seven years, however, in the 'black belt,' where the negroes far outnumber the whites, has given me unexceptionable opportunities for studying the race question, which is also a caste problem most imperfectly understood.

"Mr. Graves's proposed solution, to remove the negro to some more congenial clime, does not neces-

sarily mean the Philippines or Liberia, nor does it mean wholesale deportation of the race in our lifetime, as most of his critics assert. Separation of the races for the highest development and happiness of both is the dominant idea of his scheme. Omitting the economic use of the negro, in the scantily supplied labor of the South, and judging from the moral side of life wholly, no thinking man could truthfully fail to agree with the school of John Temple Graves, that the separation of the races would advance the ethical conditions of the white race.

"Scholarly people, like the editor of *The Times*, fail to understand this caste problem from the point of view of the 'poor whites' of the South. These are laborers in full, unrestricted competition with the low-caste negroes. Every hour's work performed by a white carpenter, mason, miner, or mechanic, is paid according to the competition existing in the local labor market. The white workers of the South, desiring better homes, more varied food, educational advantages for their children, must compete with men satisfied with cabins, filth, rags and cornbread. The negro in the Southern States, and the Indian across the border in Mexico, can supply all his inherited cravings for half the wages of a civilized white man.

"What complicates the case of the negro is that the amount of the mechanic's wages, when paid to him, tends to lower his morality. The political economists have not treated this side of the question of wages. Philanthropists declare the low-caste laboring people of English India, Mexico and the United States are all underpaid by the dominant race. They do not remember that work without wages, *i. e.*, slavery, is the

first step of the barbarian toward civilization. An increasing wage equalized to his moral development is doubtless the ideal condition for furthering ethical culture in the barbarian of any race.

"Liberal thinkers resident north of Mason and Dixon's line, look to education and more universal schooling as the one thing needful to elevate the negro. Do they know what a school taught by negroes instills into the formative minds of the colored children? Do they realize that the friction between the races probably starts in this schoolroom? Young negroes in the South now are evidently trained to regard the white race as enemies, not as friends. There appears to be no endeavor to teach these colored children respect for the aged or for superiors, and no emulation for social position founded on morals. The money of the state spent for education should also carry an obligation to teach civic duties to all children, white and black. In case of the colored schools the appearance goes far to justify a belief that the altruistic money of the white people is spent in teaching colored children anarchism.

"Affection does now exist, and has always existed, between the cultivated whites and the uneducated blacks of the South. Between these is no competition whatever, but the caste line is recognized by both parties as strictly as the division between Brahmans and Sudras in India. Hence caste instinct, instead of being an evil as generally taught, is a blessing to both high and low. If the primitive doctrine of caste were to be religiously observed, there would cease to be any race problem. A caste instinct divides the white people of the North by minor differences into many

groups; but the great gulf between the high and low caste in the South obliterates all small variations of property, profession, or calling; dividing society practically into two castes with an unchangeable division of color between them, half-breeds taking the caste of the mother.

" Prosperous negro mechanics trained in slavery are always respected by their white neighbors South. Their children, educated in modern negro schools, I have yet to find as industrious, as useful, or as worthy as their fathers. It would be true to say of my section not a colored pupil of an industrial school, boy or girl, is now following any trade or domestic service for which he or she was supposed to be trained. The industrial schools do turn out 'preachers and teachers,' and thus may make the statistics they publish good by calling these 'preachers and teachers' followers of the professions for which they were trained, but industrial training does not in white schools include 'preaching and teaching.' The negro schools of the South, however, are already beneficial in an unexpected way not intended by the Northern philanthropist. Educated (?) negroes are neither farm laborers nor domestic servants, nor do they follow mechanical trades. Hence they seek employment as porters and mail clerks on railroads all over the vast territory of the United States. While the most expensive hotels of the Northern and Eastern cities have discarded the black servants they formerly employed, as have the wealthy class of residents in those cities, the cheaper hotels and restaurants of the West are glad to obtain any service. Thus educating the negro, permanently removing him from the cotton-fields, has benefited the

white farmers by raising the price of cotton. The increased production of this crop would far exceed consumption at his time had the negro remained a cotton-raiser instead of becoming a Pullman porter.

"We read much of 'Southern race prejudice.' A prejudiced person is one who 'prejudices' or expresses anticipative judgment; one not properly informed. The Southern resident alone in this country possesses opportunities for judging the black race fairly. The evidence is before him, and is not presented to any other. 'Race prejudice' should not be charged against the English people in India, the American in the Philippine Islands, or the white man in the South. 'Prejudice' in favor of the Indian, the Filipino, or the negro may exist in those who have no experience gained by personal observation. Hence, race prejudice, if it exists for or against the negro, is not chargeable to those who 'post'-judge, but to those only who 'pre'-judge — not to those who live South, but to those who live North. The development of manufacturing industries in the cotton states has been the greatest blessing to the impoverished whites. The taking of the women from exposed isolated rural homes to factory villages removes the constant anxiety that was part of their daily burden. Since the abolition of the caste restraint of slavery, the crimes committed by negroes against the women and girls of this class has principally precipitated the race troubles in the South.

"The employment of white hands in factories benefits also by lessening the competition between white and black labor. Every negro finding employment north or west of the cotton states benefits himself and the South. If this gradual exodus continues, the race.

problem will become national instead of local, a burden to be borne by all of the citizens instead of by a few. Census statistics show as great or even a greater percentage of mulatto births in Northern states than in Southern. All history appears to prove that every slave-holding nation has finally absorbed its slaves by mixing the blood of master and slave. Such a solution is only to be thought of in horror by him who reveres the morality of his ancestors and prizes above earthly possessions the unblemished caste distinction of a thousand years of Europe's best culture. Even in the absence of ethical caste instinct, it would be opposing stirpiculture to advocate the absorption of eight millions of an inferior race by fifty millions of a superior people. What other solution except segregation can be seen by those who look into the future? The present observer counts nearly as many negroes carrying a percentage of white blood as pure African. When this crossing shall have progressed to show white-skinned, cross-bred people, with the absence of caste distinctions, who may then know the pedigree of his guests, his social acquaintances, or even his own future grandchildren?

"Of several measures I already see at work, all palliative, only one radical cure has been pointed out. It is the removal of the negroes to a negro territory. Not as the Creek and Cherokee Indians of Georgia were removed by force and *en masse*, but slowly, gently, and for the benefit of the dissatisfied negroes as well as for the betterment of the whites. Public opinion may now be against this desideratum, as it originally was against the abolition of the institution of slavery. It is a move that should win the support of every altruist,

and when sufficiently agitated, it or some kindred measure will protect us from the error of our fathers in bringing the African to America.

“ BENJAMIN W. HUNT.”

Eatonton, Ga., Sept. 18, 1903.

Thus it goes, we see. Through the greed of gain our ancestors permitted large numbers of the savage and cannibalistic blacks to be landed on the shores of a country that eventually came to be a great Republic. They were slaves and remained slaves until a fearful and prolonged war, costing thousands upon thousands of lives and millions of money, freed them. That war was an endless chapter of untold misery, but, with justice, it must be said here that the black man, imported to the shores of America against his will, was not responsible for it.

During the days of slavery, untold thousands of hybrids were produced, due to a crossing of the black and the white races, and this took place principally in the South, though by no means altogether confined to that region. When they gained their liberty, after the Civil War, much was brought to bear, from a great variety of sources and diverse influences that profoundly affected their history. In the forty years that followed, however, it has been amply proven that hybridization with a certain class of the Indo-Europeans of the United States is still actively going on; that the typical negro remains very much the same kind of a being that he was on his having been brought here from Africa; that the dozen and odd who have risen to prominence in the black race of this country are not typical negroes, but have from sixty to

eighty per cent. of white blood in their composition, and that blood probably derived from the best class of educated Americans. It has further been shown, both physiologically and anatomically, that the bulk of them derive no benefit from educational measures of any kind, and as for the matter of that they have, even when crossed with the best of the white race, produced no man or woman in any way entitled to be recognized as a profound thinker or as one possessing skill in any of the crafts of sciences above the plane of mediocrity. And, as has been pointed out, this has been the case only when the individual exhibiting such prominence had a very large proportion of white blood in his composition. On the other hand, there is a very considerable amount of proof available toward establishing the fact that in a very large proportion of cases modern education has been downright harmful to the negro, and had the sole effect of improving his opportunities for criminal practices of various kinds; of having him entertain entirely false notions of his worth, ability and real social status; and of furnishing thoroughly untrustworthy evidence of his value as a factor in modern civilization, which baseless testimony has been employed by the short-sighted, narrow-minded and uneducated supporters of this race in the United States to continue their attempts to force these savage and semi-simian creatures upon a long-suffering and civilized community.

It is equally clear that the criminality and savagery of the negro in this country has, in the case of the more criminally disposed whites, begotten both savagery and crime, as well as lawlessness. It is the presence of the negro among us that is responsible for lynch-

law, and not the tastes of our people for such brutal horrors. Among a progressive race, such as the Indo-European in the United States is, it is the effect of their own higher and elevating civilization that as time goes on eliminates crime, bestiality, brutality and all else that is ethically and morally undesirable in man's composition; but when a cultured, advancing, highly plastic and superior race of this kind has introduced among it another race in large numbers characterized by its lack of truthfulness, its bestial sensuality, its morbid criminal characteristics, its mental density and its religious and other superstitions, and its physical repulsiveness, the influence of such an introduction is bound to be felt. The case is precisely the same as though we were to introduce into a large boarding-school composed of refined, moral, educated, progressive and mentally and physically healthy boys and girls, a lot of new pupils largely given to lying, to thieving, to masturbating and other varieties of sexual looseness, to criminal propensities of various kinds, and other human frailties. It would be clearly due to that blindness which is the outcome of pseudo-philanthropy which would induce any one to state candidly that the effect of such an introduction would be anything but a beneficial one. Many a barrel of sound and sweet apples has been rendered rotten and worthless by disregarding the few unsound ones injudiciously left among them, or thoughtlessly thrown among them, as the narrow-minded, greedy and short-sighted slave-trader of three centuries ago unloaded upon our shores the black men of Africa, with a similar result.

Owing to his ever-present desire to ravish the white women of the dominant race, be their social position

what it may, he, the negro demonstrates to us every year that now goes by, by scores of successful assaults upon our womankind, often associated with their murder and mutilation, that, in spite of fire, hanging and lead, in spite of any kind of suasion, he intends, if possible, in any number of individual cases, to gratify this heinous lust of his, be the consequences what they may. This seething mass of black sensual bestiality, ever ready to erupt in hundreds of isolated instances and in localities of every conceivable kind, has at last had the effect of terrorizing white women throughout very large sections of the country, to the detriment of the sex, both individually as well as collectively, and thus fostering a factor, at once disadvantageous to the community, and inimical to the progress of a true and advanced civilization.

Of himself, either as an individual or a class, the negro is too grossly and hopelessly ignorant to recognize the ruin his very presence entails among us; too dastardly and too much of a moral coward to inaugurate as a race any general movement along the lines of segregation that would relieve the people which has taken so many years to arrive at the state of perfection that it now enjoys, and which for humanity's sake it is so important and essential it should at all hazards preserve. The negro is not that much of a practical and self-sacrificing humanitarian. These negroes would see the entire Indo-European race rot in its tracks before they would take a single step to prevent it, even if they recognized that they were the cause of the danger of the putridity. Many of them know enough to realize the fact that the potential elements of a successful growth and a clean



Fig. 12. Fastening the negro Henry Smith to the stake on the scaffold, and burning his abdomen with a red-hot iron. (Mertins, photo.)



civilization is not inherent in them, as a race; and that if with all their boasted improvements since they were liberated in this country, they were transported to any other country to work out their own destiny, a lapse back to savagery would be the inevitable result,—a result, I may say, that would be of the most far-reaching advantage to the real civilizers of the world, and of the most superlative import to the world at large and to posterity.

Plenty of uninformed people among us there are to say, "Oh, but give this race a chance, an opportunity for its uplifting" (its uplifting is a favorite expression of such people), "and you will soon see the wonders it will effect." To such people it may be plainly said, that the black or Ethiopian race is probably many, many centuries older than our own, that is, older than the Indo-European stock, and yet what has it done for civilization? Nothing, except in the case of a corporal's guard of hybrids, some dead and a few living, who have made a noise in the world, owing to the fact that the black mammies along the line of their ancestry, at various periods of its evolvment, lay to a white man, and the progeny at different times inherited its modicum of brains, and a certain degree of expansibility of the cranial sutures. That's all, and that's all there is to it.

Nowhere in all history has such a state of affairs, as the one here presented, fallen to the lot of mankind. At no time have two such distinct races, each numbered by its millions, the one representing the highest stage of civilization and advancement, the other practically but a day removed from savagery and cannibalism and all that that means, been thrown together in the same

geographical region and not separated by any natural barriers. As a matter of fact, we have no examples in the history of man to guide us in our action or to point the way for us toward any effective and rational solution. The state of affairs preëminently requires some very independent thinking, and the exercise of more than usual judgment. Mixed races, we—known from experience, however, rarely if ever succeed in the world's history and in mankind's career. The blacks, for a long time past, have interbred with the Indo-Europeans along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and although those blacks are of an infinitely better race than the stock we have with us in this country, it has been to the decided detriment of the whites, and resulted in distinctly retarding their progress. There is no reason whatever why we have any right to hope for any better results in the United States, and every reason to believe that they will be at all as good.

The great question now is, What will the eventual outcome of it all be? That is not so difficult to see. Possibly in a few places in the present volume I may have termed the state of affairs under consideration — a problem, while, as a matter of fact, there really is no problem, and to my mind the outcome of it all can hardly even be considered problematical. From mice to monkeys, and from monkeys to men, the mixing of a low and undesirable stock with a high and cultured stock is sure to produce a mixed stock, which is almost invariably not as good as either of the others that produced it. As I have before remarked, many times, there is but one remedy available, inasmuch as we cannot utterly destroy all the inferior race, and

that is complete and thorough separation. Will this ever be done in the case of the negroes and their hybrids in the United States? No, I think not. I fear matters have now gone altogether too far to have any hope of such a thing's happening. Of course, *we could do it*, because we have the power, but it simply will not be done. Neither the government or those in power, as a whole, possess the necessary foresight and intelligence to perceive the danger. Some few do, but the vast majority do not; and, therefore, there can be no consensus of opinion in the premises, and certainly no accord in the action. As a race, the negroes themselves are altogether too pusillanimous by nature to dream of doing anything of the kind, nor have they the qualifications of mind, character, ability or organization to effect any such common movement. They are only great when sustained by a high civilization; remove this from them and they would all soon return to savagery and the practices of their forefathers,—their black forefathers.

What then? Just what I have said in print a dozen times during the last dozen years or more. Hybridization, mixing of the two races, and all the horrors, all the set-backs, all the assaults and consequent lynchings, all the increase of crime and rot of every imaginable nature which that entails.

The placing of the race in this country has been and still is a most supreme piece of stupidity,—no one's particular fault, in fact, perfectly natural, though none the less a glaring ethnological fiasco. Practically we exterminated the Indians occupying the country; we for years imported all the scum we could

from Europe, Asia and Africa; we flooded the territory with black savages and cannibals; and we declared the Chinese could not land upon our soil. A combination of orders and exploits, apart from the natural migratory instincts of the human race, that has had its influence, which will surely bear its fruit some day, but it will be so gradual that the race will never realize it at any period of its evolution and development.

to a hero in a day like-
 this is strange loyalty.
 we are a day.

to the justice
 (a)
 the day the
 this.

APPENDIX

Note 1. Page 42.

ONE of the best accounts of African cannibalism known to me is given in *The Ethiopian*, "The Human Leopard Society," by J. Cameron Grant. (Charles Carrington, publisher, Paris, 1900.) As further illustrating this point, I here insert a clipping from *The Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C. (Thursday, December 5, 1895, p. 10), which reads as follows:—

MEN WORSE THAN APES

The Revolting Cruelties Practiced by Many of the Ferocious African Tribes.

(From the London Saturday Review.)

The cannibalism of the black secret society known as the Human Leopards, in the country near Sierra Leone, disclosed by the recent trial, brings forcibly before us the difference between the East African and the West African habits of eating human flesh. The Sherbro cannibals waylaid and killed their victims, and afterward feasted on their flesh. The cannibalism of the east coast is of a very different kind. The flesh of the old people—the grandfather and grandmother of a family—is dried and mixed with condiments; and a portion of this is offered, with a dim sort of sacramental meaning, to travelers who become guests of the family. To refuse it would be a deadly insult. To accept it is a passport to the privileged position of a friend of the house. Many of our travelers in East Africa have eaten thus sacramentally of the ancestors of some dark-skinned potentate.

The cannibalism of the west coast is, as has just

been seen, of a more horrible kind. The Sherbro case seems to be connected with fetichism, the worst developments of which are peculiar to that country; but there is a hideously genuine appetite for fresh human flesh still existing among the negroes of West Africa. The cannibalism manifests itself in a refinement of gluttony which has its mild analogy in the tastes of Europeans. Young boys are bought from the dark interior, kept in pens, fattened upon bananas and finally killed and baked. To these Thyestean feasts come not only the savage chiefs of the interior, but also, it is whispered, black merchants from the coast.

Men who appear at their places of business in English territory in broadcloth and tall hats, who ape the manners of their white masters, are said to disappear annually into the interior, where, we are told, they might be seen, in naked savagery, taking part in the banquets on plump boys, in which they delight. Be this as it may, somehow the native of the west coast and its Hinterland is unlike the East or South African native in the deep-lying savagery and the extraordinary facility for returning to it, which are his leading and very unpleasant characteristics. The subject claims the attention of the anthropologist, and certainly suggests a curious reason for questioning the relationship of the black man and the ape or gorilla, seeing that the race of monkeys seems to be singularly free from anything like cannibalism.

Also another one from an earlier issue of the same paper (November 8, 1893, p. 5), which throws considerable light on this subject. It reads thus:—

AMONG AFRICAN CANNIBALS

Thrilling Experiences of Mr. Dorsey Mohun on a Recent Expedition.

Mr. Dorsey Mohun, United States commercial agent at Boma, Congo Free State, has made a thrilling report to the State Department on the subject of

the African slave trade, in which he gives details of cannibalism and other acts of barbarism. What gives his report a special interest in this vicinity is that the author is a life-long resident of this city. He is the only representative of this government in that part of the "dark continent." He was sent there with a view to advancing the commercial interests of the United States and incidentally to investigate the slave trade.

In order to gain a clear insight into the whole matter, Mr. Mohun attached himself to the expedition which was sent out by the Congo government last spring, under command of M. Chaltin. This expedition, both in point of strength and from the results which it accomplished, was one of the most important ever sent against the Arabs and practically gave the slave trade in the Congo country its death blow. It penetrated the great Lomami river region, the stronghold of the slave traders, and after considerable heavy fighting, and in the face of great mortality from small-pox and fever, succeeded in breaking up several of the most noted bands, whose operations had terrorized the entire locality.

The expedition started from Basoko, on the Congo river, in the Bruxelles, in a government steamer, and eventually reached Stanley Falls. The United States officer did not join it until after M. Chaltin, who had gone on ahead, had made one short excursion into the backlying country. He caught the steamer on its next trip down to Basoko, and later joined Commandant Chaltin.

Completely Destroyed

He found that the officer had been most successful, defeating the Arabs in an open fight, and completely destroying the village of Tchari, which consisted of 1,200 houses.

From that point the expedition sailed for Bena Kamba, where it was reorganized, and set out for Riba Riba, 555 strong.

Then began the stirring and exciting adventures which lasted until the object of the expedition had been accomplished. Evidences of inhuman cruelty on the part of the slave traders were encountered.

When the town of Ikamba was reached a gruesome sight greeted the expedition. The chief of that district, being an ally of the Arabs, had placed directly across the road a ghastly barricade of sixteen newly-severed heads. The natives had fled, however, and the town was deserted, save for these grisly warnings.

Without heeding this fearful sight, the expedition pushed on, and on March 29, was stopped by an impassable stream. Scouts were sent out to find a ford, and soon returned with the news that a large body of Arabs was preparing to cross the river at a point not far away. These were the first slave dealers who had been encountered, and the force was immediately placed in position for an attack.

Surprised the Arabs

The Arabs had not discovered the presence of the expedition, and the first warning they had was a shell from the field-piece, which dropped into their camp. After several hours of hot fighting across the river, the Arabs withdrew, and upon crossing over, the blood which spattered the ground and bushes showed the victors that some deadly work had been done.

Only one dead Arab was found, as it is the custom of this people, Mr. Mohun says, to remove their dead, if possible. After the battle, 150 men succeeded in crossing the river, and were ordered to push on to Riba Riba, as it was desired to reach that town before the retreating forces of the defeated Arabs could give warning of the approach of the expedition.

This detachment Mr. Mohun accompanied, but on reaching the town they found the place deserted. The only thing they did find was another bit of Arab pleasantries in the shape of two right hands of white men nailed to the flagstaff in front of the chief's house. Mr. Mohun expresses the belief that they were those of

Messrs. Michaels and Noblesse, who were murdered there the week before. It is the intention of M. Chaltin to destroy these nests, and the detachment marched away in the light of the flames, which ascended from the burning village, and returned to the main force.

Victims of Smallpox

Smallpox had made its appearance among the men, and on the next day all of the sick were sent back to Benekamba, under guard. The expedition followed a few days later, and reached the steamer on May 5, taking three days to make the home journey, which had consumed nine days in going. The scenes on the road going back, according to Mr. Mohun's descriptions, were appalling. The dead from the sick column lined the way, and occasionally a corpse would be stumbled over as it lay concealed in the high grass, and over all was the overpowering stench from the decomposing bodies.

So great was the mortality, that upon reaching Benekamba, it was found that 104 persons had died in less than two weeks.

The battle which ended the expedition was fought at Stanley Falls. The soldiers were in two detachments, under cover of fire from the cannon on the steamer. One detachment carried the factory at the point of the bayonet, and for a while there was hot work. The retreating Arabs were pursued to the village, which the soldiers took. The other detachment, on the right bank of the river, had gallantly captured another town, killing the chief and seventy-five of his men. The defeat and rout of the Arabs was complete, and the slaughter from the rifles of the soldiers was fearful. After this disastrous defeat many of the Arabs' slaves, soldiers, women and other retainers gave themselves up. In all, about one hundred of these surrendered to the expedition.

Revolting Sight

There being no further danger from the Arabs after such a complete rout, the expedition left Stanley Falls

and went to Romie, another Arab town, which they found had been already captured by a small force under the command of Mr. Five, the inspector of the Congo State, and an officer. Here Mr. Mohun saw some sights which were revolting in the extreme, surpassing in savagery anything that he had imagined.

The butchery of the Arabs in the fight which resulted in the capture of the village had been fearful, and the natives, who swarmed like vultures over the whole place, began cutting up and eating the bodies. Commandant Chaltin had given orders that this was not to be permitted, and any native caught with human flesh in his possession was to be shot on the spot.

Mr. Mohun says that he saw several natives carrying arms and legs down to the beach, preparatory to a feast, and laconically adds that a bullet soon put an end to this proceeding. The natives, he says, say they do not eat human flesh on account of a liking for it, but as the Arabs are their enemies, they gain all the strength possessed by them when they eat them.

Note 2. Page 93.

It is something remarkable to hear these advanced hybrids express their views of the future of the negro in the United States, and listen to the arrogant opinions they entertain. Very well do I remember listening to that ignorant fellow, G. W. Murray, when he was a Congressman, address the House of Congress. It was a pitiable sight to see a man of that kind sitting up there and having a right to help frame the laws for the United States. Disgusting, one might truthfully say. Here is what they thought of themselves, and their future, some ten years ago. I take it from *The Evening Star* of Washington, D. C. (Saturday, October 28, 1893, p. 1):—

COLOR IN CONGRESS

**Mr. Murray of South Carolina on the Negro and His Future
— From Slavery To Congress — He Predicts the Eventual
Supremacy of the Negro — Mr. Douglass and Mr. Bruce.**

(Written for The Evening Star.)

The only colored man in Congress comes from South Carolina. His name is George Washington Murray, and he represents 216,000 people. His district is the famous black district, which was represented by Gen. Robt. Smalls, and it is the biggest negro district of the Union. It is two hundred miles long, and it winds in and out like a snake, scalloping the Atlantic coast and cutting the State of South Carolina like a saw. It is the district set aside by the whites of that State for colored representation. It contains few towns, and only one-fifth of its population is white.

There is no question about Geo. W. Murray's ancestry. Every feature of his cannon-ball head is modeled on African lines. His complexion is that of the ace of spades, and his features are of the pronounced negro type. He is by no means a bad-looking colored man. He stands about five feet eight inches in his stockings, and is broad-shouldered and strong-limbed. He has shown himself to be a man of nerve, and a politician of shrewdness. He talks well, but butchers the king's English in many of his sentences. He has had to fight for all that he has and his education has been acquired in almost as remarkable a way as was that of Fred Douglass. I had a talk with him last night, about himself and questions relating to his race.

How One Colored Man Was Educated

I first asked him as to his history. He replied: "I was born in the district in which I live, just about forty years ago. My parents were slaves, and when Abraham Lincoln freed the negroes I was just eleven years old. I had no money and no one to take care of

me, but I decided at that time that I would have an education and went at it. I learned my A, B, C's by asking other children, who went to school, what the letters were, and by practicing on every person whom I met, I finally learned to read and write. I studied as best I could until I became able to read the newspapers, and I know that I could stumble my way through a congressional speech when I was fifteen. It was about this time that Geo. S. Boutwell, a Congressman from Maine or Massachusetts, made a speech, which I read. It made a great impression upon me, and I can quote one sentence from it now. It was on the Southern question, and I think it read as follows: 'I know that there is pro-slavery desire and always has been and always will be until we, the Republican party, grind it into powder, trample it under foot, and freedom blows the dust out with the healing of her wings.' This sentence made an impression on me, and I probably read it to some of our people, as the colored boys who could read always read the papers to the others. Well, in this way I learned to read and write. Arithmetic always came easy to me, and I could figure out sums in my head long before I knew how to make the figures. When I was eighteen years old I had so far progressed that I began to teach school, and the first school I ever entered was as a teacher, and not as a scholar. After teaching several years, I went to the University of South Carolina, and remained there at school until the government of the State prohibited the co-education of the races, and forced me out. I then went back to teach in the public schools, and was engaged in teaching and farming until I was elected to Congress."

Farming Among the Negroes

"How about farming among the negroes, Mr. Murray," I asked, "are they gradually acquiring property?"

"They are, indeed," emphatically replied the colored Congressman. "The negro naturally wants a farm of

his own, and my people are buying lands on time and are improving them. Some of them own farms of from one to two thousand acres, and there is a colored man in Washington today who farms seven thousand acres of land in Georgia. He owns more than this, but he has this amount under cultivation. I own a little farm of my own, and there are thousands of colored men in the South who own land. We are advancing right along in the accumulation of property, and the time will come when our people will be a commercial and business factor in the United States. I believe that our success depends upon our education and enrichment, and I look for the time when the negro will stand even with the white man as a property-owner."

"How about property rights in the South? Are those of the colored people respected?"

"Yes, I think so," was the reply. "The southerners are anxious that the negroes should own property, and they encourage them to save and invest their money. They treat them fairly so far as any of these things are concerned, but they do not give them a fair show in any political way."

The Ku Klux in the South

"How about the ku klux?"

"There are no ku klux in the South, and there is very little terror arising at the polls. The whites are able to accomplish their ends without the use of shot-guns. They don't need them."

"How about the feeling between the negroes and the whites; will there ever be a war between the two races?"

"I think not. The negroes appreciate the fact that such a war would result in their destruction, and the fight that they intend to make is along business and educational lines. We propose to educate ourselves and to save our money, and when we become the equals of the whites in property and in business you will see that we have better recognition."

"Do you think that the negro is the equal of the white in natural ability?"

"I do," replied the African Congressman. "History has shown that the sons of Ham are as strong as the sons of Shem and Japhet in every way. It was once thought that the negro could not advance in learning beyond a certain point, but the colleges know that the negro is the equal of the white, and, in many cases, superior. I think that we will gradually equal and eventually distance the whites. The reason for this is that we have got to start from the bottom. We have nothing, and we must fight for every inch. We are very ambitious, and we will not stop until we get to the top."

A Mixed Race

"What will be the future of the two races? Will the negro ever unite with the whites?"

"I believe," said Mr. Murray, "that there will eventually be a mixed race in this country, made up of negro and white blood. When the negro becomes rich and educated the objection to him will wear away, and there will be intermarriages between the two races. At present the negroes have no objections to such marriages. They think that the only ground of marriage should be that of love. The objection comes from the whites, and this will disappear as the negro equals them in property and other things."

"Do not a large number of your people object to colored men marrying white women? You remember the howl of indignation that went up from the colored people of this country when Fred Douglass married a white woman."

"Yes," replied Mr. Murray, "I do, and the indignation against Mr. Douglass was so strong because he, to a large extent, represented the colored people of the United States, and the fact that he married a woman of white blood was considered by our people a slap at the women of his own race. They thought it meant that he could not find a colored woman good enough for him and hence had to take a white one."

The Colonization of the Negro

"How about negro colonization, Mr. Murray? Will such schemes ever succeed?"

"No," was the reply. "The negroes have never been in favor of such colonization, nor have such schemes ever been engineered by people who have not wanted to make money out of it. There was a movement about fifteen years ago to take the colored people to Kansas, and there have been propositions to send them to Brazil and other places. The negroes are in the United States to stay, and if they could have free transportation to Liberia, or to Africa, they would not take it. I do not think the people of the South want to get rid of the negro, and I think if we are let alone that we will work out our destiny to the satisfaction of every one."

A Look at Fred Douglass

Speaking of the future of the colored race, Fred Douglass is one of those who believe that the two races will eventually come together. He says that the color line will eventually be obliterated, and that the only salvation for the negro is in union with the white. Douglass is about three-fourths colored himself, and his second wife is as white as any woman in the United States. She was his private secretary when he married her, and is, I am told, very fond of her husband. She is twenty years younger than he, and lives with her husband near Washington. Fred Douglass is rich. He is said to be worth in the neighborhood of \$200,000. He got \$7,000 annually as marshal of the District, and he has for a long time received \$100 a night for his lectures. His books have paid him well, and he has so invested his money as to be well fixed. He is now seventy-six years old, and he has failed within the last three or four years. He has lost weight and strength, but intellectually he is now as strong as ever, and his last letter in reply to Senator Ingalls was as strong a paper as he has ever written.

Senator Bruce and His Mississippi Farm

I saw Blanche K. Bruce on the floor of the U. S. Senate the other day. He looks hardly a day older than when he walked up to be sworn in, on the arm of Roscoe Conkling. He is now devoting his time to his estate in Mississippi, and to lecturing. He has made money in both pursuits, and he told me not long ago that he was dividing up his Mississippi property into small farms, and was selling it on installments to the colored people. He has built a church and school-house on the plantation, and he believes, with Mr. Murray, that the future of the negro lies in his education, and in the accumulation of property.

Ex-Senator Bruce's Marriage

Ex-Senator Bruce now lives in Washington, in a fashionable part of the northwest. His wife is a beautiful woman, nearly as white in complexion as many of our Washington society ladies. He met her while the two were at college together at Oberlin. He married her while he was in the Senate, and the event was one of two senatorial weddings which took place at Cleveland, Ohio, one summer. Mrs. Bruce was a teacher in one of the Cleveland public schools. She had been very well educated, and she is, in fact, as accomplished a lady as you will find anywhere. She dresses well, looks well, and has great natural refinement. The last time I saw her was at one of Clara Barton's receptions, and she was assisting Miss Barton to receive her guests. The other wedding that took place that summer was that of Senator Don Cameron, who married Miss Lizzie Sherman, the daughter of Judge Sherman, of Cleveland, and a niece of the Senator. It was a grand affair, and its story took up many columns in the newspapers. Mrs. Cameron also lives in Washington, and her old-fashioned home, just above Blaine's, is now being repaired for the coming season.

FRANK G. CARPENTER.

Before this contribution of Mr. Carpenter's appeared in the *Star*, United States Senator John J. Ingalls had published a long article, on this subject, in *The Chicago Tribune* (Sunday, May 28, 1893, p. 27). The article was entitled "Always a Problem," and Senator Ingalls sent me a marked copy of the same, inviting my attention to it. I very much regret that the contribution is altogether too long to incorporate in this place, as it is pregnant with valuable facts on the history of the African negro in America, from various points of view. Senator Ingalls, however, did not believe that race union would ever take place, and in the afore-said article passed the following opinion upon it, to wit:—

NO HOPE OF RACE UNION

Frederick Douglass is perhaps the widest known and most distinguished representative of the negro race. He is an eloquent, accomplished, and dignified gentleman. His father was a white man and his mother a slave. It is perhaps not invidious nor uncivil to affirm that the distinction of Douglass is not on account of this African blood, but in spite of it. The intellectual traits, qualities, and characteristics which have given him renown are due to his Anglo-Saxon re-enforcement. He once said to me that he believed the white and black races were not inherent but causal, and that there was a temporary prejudice that would be obliterated, so that they would eventually coalesce and the race question thus be effaced and disappear. There are no indications at present that this prophecy will be verified. Instead of vanishing the repugnance appears to be more distinct and emphatic. Mr. Douglass bravely acted upon his theory, but his example has not been followed nor seriously approved.

Whether justly or unjustly, African blood is regarded by the Caucasian as a taint to be abhorred. The discovery of an unsuspected negro strain by the heroine is the tragic motive of one of Howells' most

powerful novels. Whether this sense of degradation is peculiar to Americans and due to slavery is disputed. Certainly the revulsion in Europe is not so marked as here, but in the most cosmopolitan capitals the negro is not *persona grata*. Black is not a badge of inferiority, because Cubans, Brazilians, Spaniards, and Hindoos are of dusky hue, but the African is not considered an equal or kindred race. No white man ever wanted to be a negro. Probably every educated and intelligent negro would prefer to be white.

That the condition of the African has been improved in many respects by freedom and education needs no arguments, but his progress has been toward segregation. The great gulf fixed between the races has widened and deepened since emancipation. As dependents and subordinates the blacks were associates of the whites. As political equals they are strangers. Their children are no longer playmates. They are taught in separate schools, they worship in separate churches, they are buried in separate cemeteries. If possible, the barrier is more insuperable at the North than at the South, and the prescription more contemptuous and intolerant. Wherever the negro appears in considerable numbers the irritation is violent. Their settlement in any locality depresses the value of real estate and repels white occupation. Immigrants avoid contact with them and shun the South as an infected region. Places of trust, honor, and emolument are shut against them inexorably. With confessed majorities in many districts and the balance of power in others they have no positions of high rank in the State or National governments. Although more than two hundred thousand enlisted in the Union armies no full-blood negro holds a commission in the army or navy and in the militia their organization is distinct. The learned professions, business, commerce, and manufactures, are open to all, but except with his own people the African has no function. His occupations are menial. In their employments he finds toleration and is content. The

rights and immunities conferred by the three constitutional amendments have given him no protection against the stronger edict of public opinion. Surrounded by opportunities which he cannot share and by advantages from which he is excluded, the future offers no prospect of release from a bondage whose imperceptible manacles are forged and riveted by the tyranny of nature.

Note 3. Page 112.

Five years after the scene I had witnessed, or may be more, the same disgusting practice was being kept up, as will be seen from the following clipping taken from *The New York Times* of August 17, 1903 (page 1), and which reads:—

MARKET FOR NEGRO VOTES

**McComas and Mudd Fractions Bid Openly from \$2 to \$25
a Head at Maryland Primaries.**

(Special to The New York Times.)

Baltimore, Aug. 16.—In the Republican faction fight between Senator McComas and the anti-organization combine at the primary election in the counties yesterday there was wholesale bartering in votes in Prince George County. About \$25,000 was spent in this county alone in buying negro votes.

At Upper Marlborough all kinds of ruses were worked by negroes to obtain funds from both factions, and they were for the most part successful. At least \$2 each were paid for the black votes, but as a rule they brought from \$5 to \$25. One negro got \$50 extra for voting twelve members of his family. As soon as the polling window was raised, the colored voters made a rush for it, but refrained from voting until supplied with the "long green."

The men with the cash stood opposite the window

and offered the money. The scene has probably never been equaled in Maryland politics.

In this connection, the following *News Item* is of interest. I clip it from *The New York Times* (September 23, 1903, page 1) : —

NEGRO MUST BE RECOGNIZED

President Roosevelt Will Carry Into Effect His Plans for Colored Voters.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Birmingham, Ala., Sept. 22.—J. O. Thompson, Collector of Revenue for Alabama, and one of the President's referees in this State, said this afternoon, upon his return from a conference with the President at Oyster Bay, that Mr. Roosevelt was determined to carry out his plan of recognizing the negro as an element in the party.

He pronounced as unjustifiable the report that the President was seeking reconciliation with the Vaughan and Bingham, or "Lilywhite," faction, which eliminated the negro from the last State convention. Vaughan and Bingham bear him out in the latter statement.

The eight vacancies in Federal offices occurring in this State in December will be filled by the nominees of the referee, and the "Lilywhites" will seek consolation in trying to send an Alabama delegation opposed to Roosevelt to the National convention.

This *News Item* appeared shortly after the time, I think, that the notorious negro, Booker T. Washington, had been entertained by the President at the White House. It called forth an enormous amount of criticism in the press, and among other articles and interviews, speeches, and addresses, the following from Senator Gorman, of Maryland (*The New York Times*, Saturday, October 31, 1903, p. 1) : —

GORMAN ON NEGRO ISSUE

Calls on Maryland Voters to Rebuke the President — Charges Mr. Roosevelt with Interfering in State Politics and Making the Election National.

Baltimore, Oct. 30.— At a Democratic mass-meeting held tonight, speeches were made by Edwin Warfield, the candidate for Governor, and a number of leading Democrats, including Senator Gorman. An immense crowd was present, and the speaking was preceded by stereopticon views illustrating the association of white and negro delegates at the late Republican State convention.

Senator Gorman spoke, in part, as follows:

“ Ordinarily the result of a State election concerns the people of the State alone. Its only bearing upon National politics is the fact that the Legislature to be elected will elect a Senator to represent this State in the Senate of the United States.

“ But circumstances and occurrences, which have been forced upon us, make the result this year of more than local import.

“ The extraordinary, unusual, and I think you will agree with me, unfortunate activity and interest displayed by the President of the United States in participating in his party’s councils by calling to Washington the prominent Republicans of this State, issue a challenge for interference in our domestic affairs that must be met with no uncertain protest by our people.

“ No State in the Union made greater sacrifices or contributed more to the establishment of the National Government than Maryland. In the formation of the Constitution of the United States, the representatives of Maryland were the most pronounced of all in opposing the granting to the Federal Government of any power which would enable it to interfere in the domestic affairs of the several States. And we must maintain the same position if we are to preserve our liberties.

"I have a great respect for the President. He ought not to be lightly or unjustly criticised. But lovers of liberty must enter their earnest protest whenever high officials of the Government exercise powers or commit acts which tend to restrict the rights of the people or unduly interfere with the matters of State concern.

"President Roosevelt is a man of fine attainments and of honest convictions. He is young in years, impulsive, ambitious; is a partisan and believes in his party. In his anxiety for its success, he is liable to make mistakes, and, in my judgment, he has committed a most grievous error in forcing to the front an issue which must be deplored by all the conservative men of the country.

Warns President of Results

"In every country where the race issue has arisen it has always carried in its wake lamentable results and has been attended by evil consequences. I trust his earnestness and impetuosity may be restrained and that he may be prevailed upon to use wiser counsel in his treatment of the negro problem.

"From the day a cargo of Africans was landed and sold as slaves, until this hour the burden of the white men of this country has been greater than that borne by any people known to history. It was one of the causes which led to a most gigantic war, which drenched the country in blood, destroying fair homes and impoverishing a gallant people.

"Immediately after the close of the war came the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which enfranchised the blacks for party purposes alone, and thus injected into the body politic a people unprepared and unfitted for self-government.

"The Anglo-Saxon has never, and will never, tolerate the social equality or the political domination of the negro race.

"The South has passed through scenes of turbulence and disorder and rape and riot. By amendments

to State Constitutions and by legislation, the whites have secured control, for the time being, of their own local governments, and the colored race is no longer a political factor in any State south of the Potomac.

"For more than thirty years this question has aroused sectional feeling and divided parties. It has threatened the peace of the States, put in jeopardy homes, and paralyzed industrial efforts. All thoughtful men realize that this canker upon the body of politic must be eliminated and the supremacy of white government assured.

"In 1896 William McKinley was elected President of the United States. During his service in Congress he had favored the most drastic legislation proposed by his party in their efforts to enforce the Constitutional provisions. As President of the United States he realized the responsibilities of his exalted position.

"He began his term when the country was emerging from the throes of a great commercial panic. All the business interests of the North were depressed — the wheels of industry scarcely revolving. The South was struggling with its negro problem; its fields but half cultivated; its manufactures at the lowest ebb; its mines and forests undeveloped.

"These conditions were principally due to the great pall that hung over that section and made development and progress impossible.

Mr. McKinley's Attitude

"While President McKinley kept his party obligations as fully as any man, he ceased making partisan war upon the people of the South. That people removed, at least temporarily, the incubus that depressed them.

"The action of the States was sustained by the courts and confidence was restored. The old and young men of the South took on new life.

"Development and progress resulted both North and South, until the stream of prosperity and enter-

prise was flowing from one end of the land to the other.

"In the interest of humanity, the Government of the United States determined to free Cuba. War was declared, and in response to the President's call the men of the South and North, the East and the West, volunteered. Sectionalism and party were obliterated. Our army was organized, and Gen. Miles of Massachusetts, Gen. Lee of Virginia, Gens. Shafter and Joe Wheeler were given important commands. Every section of the country was brought together in the interest of the Union — no North, no South, no East, no West.

"Success greeted our arms at every point. The navy under Dewey at Manila and under Schley at Santiago added new laurels to American valor.

"The army in Cuba under Shafter, with Col. Roosevelt holding an important command, and the army in Porto Rico under Miles, won new glory for the Nation.

"With returning peace, commerce and trade flourished as never before in the history of any people.

"A little more than two years have elapsed since that deplorable tragedy at Buffalo, which deprived the Nation of a great President. Mr. Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency.

"In his anxiety to be constantly doing something, he has made mistakes.

"I believe of him, as I have believed of all Presidents, that he is sincere and patriotic. But every man in public position is liable to mistakes. None could be more serious than the one made by him in his attempt to force again to the front the question of equality, social and political, of the negro race.

Hints at a Play for Votes

"Thoughtful citizens, both North and South, regret such an issue. They dread, and will avoid it, if possible. But if the President and his party drive the issue, it must be met, and the responsibility must rest upon them.

"The President is the leader of his party now, and

will be next year. The politicians of his party may advise him that the solid negro vote (for in voting they are indivisible) holds the balance of power in the great central States of the Union, and that in the States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois it is essential to his party's success.

"In Maryland, where the negro vote constitutes two-thirds of the Republican party, it is an absolute necessity, for without it the State is hopelessly lost for the Republicans.

"Unless I mistake the temper of the people of this country, there will be the same revolution in public sentiment and the same protest that was recorded in 1892 by the white people of the entire Union against the administration of President Harrison for his attempt to force negro domination upon the South, and thus destroy that section and paralyze the industries of the whole United States.

"We are told that the President has declared to Senator McComas in unequivocal language that the forthcoming election in Maryland was not a local event, but one of National importance. In other words, the election of Mr. Williams as Governor of Maryland would be an indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's administration.

"So this issue is forced upon us by the President. He has made the gage of battle, and we must meet it as becomes Marylanders."

RACE QUESTION 1904'S ISSUE

Chauncey F. Black of Pennsylvania Thinks North More Interested Than Generally Supposed.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Baltimore, Oct. 30.—Chauncey F. Black, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, and lately

President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs, was in Baltimore last evening. He stopped at the hotel where Senator Gorman is making his headquarters and directing the State campaign. They are said to have had a conference on politics in general and the issues for next year.

Before leaving the city, Mr. Black declared that the race issue may be a deciding one in the Presidential campaign. He agreed with Senator Gorman that President Roosevelt "had identified himself with the question of negro equality."

Mr. Black further said he believed the undercurrent of thought upon the race question was deeper and more intense at present in the popular mind of the North than was generally supposed.

The encouraging of the negro ambition for public office and colonizing them in the North under the patronage of monopolizing corporations was a growing evil.

"Even in Pennsylvania," continued Mr. Black, "the 75,000 negro voters, increasing annually by industrial colonization and party coddling, are more than enough to decide the fate of the State on anything like a fair vote.

"The threats by radical Republicans of cutting down the representation of States which have disfranchised the illiterate negroes, concurring, as they do, with the course of the President, the official head and candidate of the party, seem to make this race issue inevitable, whether we will or not."

That there are people who are connected with the Federal government who will not dine with negroes may be seen from the following incident (*The New York Times*, August 25, 1903, p. 1):—

WOULDN'T EAT WITH NEGROES

Senator Bacon and Party Had No Breakfast, but Booker T. Washington and Party Ate.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Atlanta, Aug. 24.—United States Senator A. O. Bacon and a party of prominent Atlanta people went without breakfast today at Hamlet, N. C., while Booker T. Washington and a number of negroes ate in the dining-room at the station.

The main dining-room was given over entirely to the negro delegation, while a smaller table in the side reading-room was cleared of books and papers and a few plates laid for Senator Bacon and friends. Under the circumstances, Senator Bacon and the Atlanta people refused to eat.

Hamlet is the regular station where Seaboard Air Line trains stop for meals. Senator Bacon and friends, who were en route to Wilmington, had ordered their meals in advance. When the station was reached they went to the dining-room and were greatly astonished to find it occupied by Washington and his friends.

The same feeling prevails everywhere, and hundreds of instances are reported in the daily papers all over the country every day. Here is a brief example of one of them, clipped by the author from the *New York American and Journal* (Sunday, October 4, 1903, page 40). It reads thus:—

PUPILS REBEL AT NEGRO TEACHER

Chicago, Oct. 3.—A revolt of school children in the Oak Ridge public school followed the assignment of a colored woman as teacher in the sixth grade, in the absence of Miss Catherine Ralph, a white teacher.

A number of pupils left the school at the noon hour, and a general defection was prevented by Principal

W. E. Vanderwater, only by imprisoning the ring-leaders in the basement during recess. Miss Ralph was again placed in charge of the grade.

Note 4. Page 137.

In this note I give one or two more cases of lynching, and others are described further on in the APPENDIX. We find the following one reported in *The Evening Telegram* (New York, Friday, September 25, 1903, p. 1):—

MOB STORMS JAIL; LYNCHES NEGRO

Sheriff Shot One Man in Effort to Protect Prisoner, but Was Overpowered.

Lynchburg, Tenn., Friday.—Sheriff George R. Davidson, in attempting to save the life of a negro early today, fired into a mob which was assailing the jail, wounding a man whose name is unknown. The Sheriff summoned assistance, but he and his aides were overpowered, the jail entered and the much-wanted negro, Allen Small, shot to death in the corridor. The mob was composed of about twenty-five persons.

Sheriff Davidson was alone at the time. He refused to give up the keys and opened fire from a window. He wounded one of the members of the mob and then called for the police. Two officers and several citizens rushed to the jail, but despite their presence, the mob battered down the wooden door at the foot of the stairs leading to the corridor.

Here is another instance in point, clipped by me from *The New York Times* (Tuesday, December 1, 1903, p. 1):—

THREE NEGROES LYNCHED

They Shot Louisiana Man to Test Their New Weapons — All Confessed Their Crime — Shreveport Colored Men Helped the Whites to Capture and Hang the Culprits.

Shreveport, La., Nov. 30.—In the presence of a crowd of about 1,200 whites and negroes, Phil Davis, Walter Carter, and Clint Thomas, all negroes, were lynched this afternoon about 1 o'clock, within a short distance of Belcher, which is twenty miles from Shreveport.

The men were executed for participating in the fatal shooting of Robert Adger, one of the most popular business men in North Louisiana.

The negroes confessed their crime. They stated that they were trying new guns, and when Adger appeared on the street, thought it quite natural to turn the guns on him.

No shots were fired at the lynching, the negroes all being hanged to a single limb of a tree. Two of the negroes under arrest, Sam Lee and Peter Thomas, were released. Lee proved that he had attempted to prevent the negroes from shooting Adger, and Thomas established the fact that he was too frightened to shoot.

Phil Davis and Walter Carter were captured yesterday afternoon several miles from the scene of their crime. Clint Thomas was caught later about a mile and a half from Belcher.

The negroes were taken before Adger and confessed their crime. They were held in concealment until shortly before 1 o'clock today, when they were taken out and hanged.

Davis is said to be an ex-convict, and Walter Carter was forced to flee from Mansfield, La., about a year ago for insulting a white woman.

The negroes of Belcher joined in the search for the men, and were apparently as eager to have them lynched as the whites. One negro was presented by

the whites with a purse of \$100 for the part he took in the pursuit.

The negroes who were lynched were given an opportunity to pray.

One of the most disgusting and terrible lynchings recently done, took place only three days ago, and was reported in hundreds of papers. I give here a short account of it from *The New York Times* of Monday, February 8th, page 2. All the particulars are not furnished here. It is as follows:—

WOMAN AND MAN BURNED AT STAKE

Both Negroes Captured After Three-Day Chase Through Mississippi Swamps.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Memphis, Tenn., Feb. 7.—Luther Helbert and his wife, colored, who murdered James Eastland, a young planter at Doddsville, Miss., Wednesday morning, were captured after a three days' chase in a swamp on the Yazoo River, Sunday morning at 3 o'clock.

They were taken to Doddsville by a band of fifty men, and were burned at the stake, near the scene of their crime, at 3:30 this afternoon, before a large crowd of men from three counties.

The two brothers of the murdered planter decided the form of punishment, and were present at the burning. The crime for which the negroes died was one of the most horrible and cold-blooded ever committed in the State.

The mob turned the sixteen-year-old son of the murderers loose. The boy had been forced to accompany them. The negroes were heavily armed when captured, and were expected to make resistance, as they had sworn not to be taken alive, but they were surprised when asleep in the swamp.

About 200 men altogether took part in the chase,

and five of the best bloodhounds in the State were employed.

Seven negroes, including the murderers and the negro who was killed in company with young Eastland, have suffered death as the result of this crime. It is thought that the negro lodges in that section had much to do with the crime, and that they helped the murderers.

It is said that while Helbert and his wife were burning, their screams were something terrific, and they could be heard for half a mile. Their son was nearly crazed with fear, and when he saw the flames consuming his tortured parents, and heard their frightful screams, and prayers for mercy, he threw himself face downward on the ground, closing his eyes, and putting his fingers in his ears, to shut the fearful scene out from sight and hearing. After the couple were dead and only partly consumed, the mob left them, and the boy took the blackened corpses of his parents, and laid them side by side in the brush, covering them over as best he could.

These lynchings are not always confined to the Southern States. Less than a year ago, a typical case of burning a negro at the stake took place in the State of Delaware. The fellow's name was George White. It happened on June 23, 1903, on which date he met the beautiful Miss Helen Bishop, a daughter of a well-known minister of Delaware, and worked his will with her, and then brutally murdered his outraged victim. The feeling in the community which followed upon this terrible crime was most passionate and intense. It was evident in all classes of people, and apparently could not be subdued or controlled.

Miss Bishop was a great favorite with all who knew her. She was young, a girl of decided beauty, both of face and figure. She was alone at the time, and in a country district.

I clip a few of the instances from the *New York American* of Wednesday, June 24, 1903, page 2. Hun-

dreds of other United States papers gave full accounts of this famous lynching:—

CONFESSED AS HE STOOD AT STAKE

Cool-Headed Leaders of Mob Protected the Wilmington Slayer from Attack While He Told All About His Deed—Story of How White Was Burned to Death.

Wilmington, Del., June 23.—Here are the facts of the burning of George White at the stake:

Word was passed around early yesterday morning that a lynching party would organize at Price's Corners at 8 o'clock last night, and move from there in a body to the New Castle County Workhouse, where White was imprisoned. Many who heard the rumor refused to take it seriously, but by 8 o'clock fully 5,000 persons had gathered about the workhouse.

The Police Department had been warned of the plot, and thirty policemen, under command of Chief Black and Captains Evans and Kane, went to reinforce the small number of guards inside the prison. The place was completely surrounded when they arrived, and they had scarcely entered the corridor of the west wing when the leaders of the mob made a rush for the door.

Shots were exchanged, and the first to fall was Peter Smith, a twelve-year-old boy. Another young man was wounded, but the flying bullets failed to deter the mob. They pressed closer to the door and when it seemed certain that they would push it from its hinges, Chief Black appeared at the grating.

Chief Shouted Warning

"I give you fair warning," he shouted, "that the first man who enters this corridor will be killed."

A tall man, wearing a wide-brimmed white hat, pushed forward, grasped one of the heavy sledges, and as he attacked the steel door exclaimed: "Then you might as well kill me for the first one."

Another stranger was close behind. He drew a revolver and shot out the electric light bulbs one by one. In the darkness occasional shots were fired by both sides. It is known that several persons were slightly wounded, but they have succeeded in concealing their identity.

The steel door could not long withstand the determined blows of the mob, and within half an hour after the attack had begun the crowd was charging noisily into the corridor.

The leaders carried out their plans with perfect coolness. Calling Chief Black and Warden Meserve to one side, they told the officials resistance would avail nothing, and that it would save expense and trouble if the warden would tell them in which cell White was imprisoned.

Slayer Was in Cell No. 13

The Warden told them White could be found in cell No. 13, in the front row of cells on the third floor. The mob charged up the stairways to the iron door, which opened into a corridor. On both sides of these corridors were cells in which White and other prisoners were locked. The lynching party had provided cold chisels and sledges, and a few men went to work systematically to remove the rivet heads and open the way to the inner cells.

The crowd at their back became impatient and crushed forward in such numbers that the work was delayed. The leaders appealed to the others to fall back.

Twenty-two minutes before midnight the door was open. White was seized. He fought off his assailants, knocking the first man down, but his arms were gripped by a dozen hands and he was soon overpowered.

The crowd became almost unmanageable at the first glimpse of the negro. They sought to tear him limb from limb, but again were held back by the handful of men who directed the whole affair.

Leaders Gave Orders

"Everybody will have an opportunity to see him," called out one of the leaders; "put out all the lights and move toward Price's Corners."

Scores of lanterns vanished and in the sudden gloom there was a swift movement, during which White and his captors were lost to sight. They were soon detected hastening toward the spot on which Helen Bishop had been murdered, and on which it had been decided to execute her assassin.

As he was dragged swiftly along, the frightened prisoner begged for mercy. He offered to confess everything, but his captors would not give him an opportunity to talk until they had brought him to the stake. There he was permitted to stand and make a confession in which he said he had killed Miss Bishop. He said he had asked her for money, promising to release her if rewarded.

"She gave me 60 cents," he said. "Then I asked her if she was going to tell, and she said she was. I cut the back of her neck with a knife, and asked her again if she would tell. She said yes again, and then I cut her throat. If I was a white man you would not do this to me."

Confession Excited Mob

The confession aroused the crowd to a high pitch of excitement, and the leaders prepared the stake and the fuel in haste, fearing their prisoner would be taken from them and shot down.

One man split rails, while another, mounted on a white horse, rode at top speed to a farmyard and brought a bundle of straw.

White continued to beg for mercy until the wood and straw were set afire.

The flames burned away the thongs and he fell into the fire. Leaping to his feet, he attempted to run away. A member of the mob felled him with a rail, and he was again placed on the fire. Several times he

rolled beyond the reach of the flames and was thrust back again.

After life had become extinct, more fuel was piled over the corpse and it was almost entirely consumed. The mob then dispersed, leaving the fire still burning. Toward morning a drizzling rain began to fall, and the smouldering fire was extinguished.

This lynching was incited apparently by a sermon that was preached at Wilmington, by the Rev. Robert A. Ellwood, a friend of the girl's father, and a highly-respected man in the community. As this is a typical case, and of marked historical value, when taken in connection with what I have attempted to set forth in the present volume, I here reproduce other facts commented on by the *New York American* of above date. I do not now recall what happened to any of the mob after they had committed the deed. The State made a strong showing, however, to bring them to justice. This was printed in the *American*:—

Wilmington, Del., June 23.—This old city is deeply stirred by the deplorable burning at the stake of George White, the negro who slew Helen Bishop, the pretty seventeen-year-old daughter of the Rev. E. A. Bishop.

So intense is the interest in the tragic deed that today more than ten thousand men, women, and children journeyed for miles through rain and mud to the scene of the burning.

Throngs of the fair sex surround the smoldering embers of the funeral pyre. Some hurled on more wood to keep the fires going so as to reduce to dust the remnants of the negro's body, while boys and girls snatched pieces of fuel from the fire as souvenirs of the mob's violence.

It was learned today that the Governor received a telegram at 11:30 o'clock last night from J. Newlin Gawthrop, president of the trustees of the New Castle

County Workhouse, and David J. Reinhardt, solicitor of the city of Wilmington. It read:

"Call militia out at once to protect workhouse property. Already entered by mob of 2,000."

It was then too late for the Governor to take such action, it is said, as the troops could not have reached the scene in time to prevent the deed of violence.

Lynchers Talk Openly

Men who took part in the extraordinary deed, only three hours from New York, are talking openly in the street of their acts, and the mob's work is pointed out as a triumph of human justice over law.

The Protestant ministers today denounced the lynchers, but in their resolutions no demand or desire is expressed for the authorities to take action against the executors of mob law. Neighbors know one another as members of that lawless band, and no concealment is made.

A hundred names of the lynchers could be quoted now.

County detectives marched with the mob to the jail. There are scores whom they must have recognized. Chief of Police George Black and Police Captain Evans faced the mob, and must have recognized many. Yet only one arrest has been made.

And, while Mayor Fisher, the Chief of Police, and Captain Evans, Attorney-General Ward and his assistant, Richards, refuse to discuss the matter of the lynching or to disclose what plans, if any, they have for forcing an atonement for the shocking affair, boasts are openly made on the street that no jury will ever be found in Wilmington to convict any one charged with participating in the deed.

Judges Made Scapegoats

The Supreme Court is made the scapegoat for the remarkable outbreak of Northern revenge. The judges calmly refused to listen to the insistence of the community, inflamed by the negro's deed, that a speedy

trial be given the wretch. But because the Grand Jury had adjourned for the term, and civil cases had been taken up for trial, Chief Justice Lore refused to act upon a suggestion that the Grand Jury be recalled, the Court of Oyer and Terminer convened and White placed on trial at once.

This was the breaking point with the people. They could not dispassionately wait till September, three long months, for the due processes of law.

Chief Justice Lore and Judges Grubb and Penniwell are maintaining a dignified silence under the shower of abuse to which they are being subjected.

Ghastly Relics on Show

Half a hundred persons are parading the streets, exhibiting ghastly relics of the dark deed.

They were on the ground early this morning after the night's revels, ahead of Deputy Coroner Kelmer, who proceeded leisurely to the smouldering pyre at about 11 o'clock and took charge of what remained of the victim of the mob's frenzy.

These are actual facts, and the scenes are laid in one of the centres of civilization, within three hours' ride of New York and amid a people who outwardly are educated and humane.

Crimes such as that for which White was so brutally put to death have been committed in Delaware before.

In the very jail that the mob sacked last night another negro is undergoing imprisonment for a similar offence, yet he was not molested.

Women, Too, in the Mob

It is impossible that some of those who participated in the outrage were not recognized. Five thousand persons stood by and watched White writhe in his death agony. At least 500 of these assisted actively in the work of his destruction. It is not true that the leaders came masked and garbed in women's attire. The act was committed boldly. Men and women faced one another frankly while they went about the work.

Yet the only mention of any leader in the mob is that of an elusive Baker, said to be a Southerner.

A most extraordinary circumstance in connection with the affair is the attitude of the clergy.

A Sermon is Blamed

To the sermon of the Rev. Robert A. Ellwood, pastor of the Mount Olivet Presbyterian Church, is attributed the stirring of the mob to the point of action.

Last Sunday night, when public sentiment against White was reaching the boiling point, Mr. Ellwood preached a sermon on the topic "Should the Murderer of Helen Bishop Be Lynched?"

He advocated moderation, and then drew an agonizing picture of the murder of Miss Bishop. He counselled patience, and then denounced the Supreme Court, declaring that by refusing to depart from its regular procedure to try White, it was setting an example in patience for the people. He drew a forecast of precisely what has happened, and sternly laid the blame at the feet of the judges of the court, and added a final appeal to the passions of his audience by dramatically waving over his head blood-stained leaves from the thicket in which Helen Bishop was killed, gathered for the purpose, by an elder of his church.

The people went away from the meeting livid with passion — and early this morning the deed was done.

The Rev. Mr. Ellwood is a Princeton graduate. He is about 32 years old, well built, lithe, and possessed of advanced views.

Does Not Retract

"I do not retract a word of what my sermon contained," he said today. "I did not preach lynching. On the contrary, I counselled against it. And I deplore this affair as much as any man. It is too dreadful to contemplate.

"Yet my charge still holds good, that the Court should have satisfied the demand for a speedy trial for

White, and having failed to do so, the awful responsibility for what has happened rests with the Judges."

"Do you feel no personal regret at the outcome?" was asked.

"None," replied Mr. Ellwood.

"Besides, in this morning's mail I have received a number of letters from eminent citizens indorsing the stand I took."

There was a story about Wilmington tonight that some official action would be taken against Mr. Ellwood, but no verification of it could be had. The preacher was seen walking the streets undisturbed.

Another representative of the cloth, the Rev. Robert Watt, a presiding elder, also maintains a remarkable attitude. He was quoted as having made a speech similar to that of Mr. Ellwood.

"I deny that," he said to the *American* correspondent. "I am keeping my own opinions on the affair to myself."

"But you regard last night's occurrences as bad, do you not?"

"I am not prepared to say that."

Views of the Women

Mrs. Watt, wife of the elder, a sweet, motherly little woman, went even further than her husband. Her views are startling illustrations of the attitude of the women of Wilmington toward the lynching.

"It is deplorable," said Mrs. Watt, her pretty blue eyes flashing fire. "But he got what he deserved. I would have been willing myself to help to do something to put him out of the way."

Save for the natural excitement following such an unusual event, Wilmington is quiet and orderly tonight.

Condemnation of the lynching would be much greater if it were not for the revolting nature of the confession made by White just before the funeral pyre was lighted.

One of the judges who has been severely criticised said privately to a friend:

"The public had no necessity to do this thing. In all such cases the courts for years and years have found the persons guilty when they were guilty, and there was no reason for such undue haste.

"The manner in which the community at large was stirred up over the awful crime would have rendered it impossible to get an impartial jury before September."

"Representative Citizens"

J. Frank Bell, one of the trustees of the workhouse, said: "The affair, I do not think, could have been avoided. The crowd was composed of representative citizens, and it could easily be seen that there was somebody at the head of the movement who had perfect control of the mob."

Chief of Police Black said he had discovered immediately on his arrival on the scene that he could not cope with the situation. He is authority for the statement that the mob had twenty pounds of dynamite with which to enforce their demands.

Sheriff E. F. Stidham said he was powerless to stop the mob, since they had already left the workhouse with the prisoner when he arrived with his posse of fifty men, gathered along the way.

Judge Bull, secretary of the Board of Trustees of the workhouse, who was in the jail when the mob approached, said they quickly decided after a hasty consultation to offer no resistance, since to have done so would have meant the useless sacrifice of many lives.

"Don't Shoot," Was Order

Warden Meserve, of the workhouse, said today:

"We had instructions to shoot no one. All our guns were on the upper floors.

"The mob had a competent leader, and included skilled mechanics. The man who opened White's cell, did it without damage to anything but the bolts."

Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, father and mother of the murdered girl, left Wilmington early today for their old home in Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Bishop, who has been ill, was awakened last night by the light of the flames of the fire around White. She is on the verge of nervous prostration.

Mob Always is in the Wrong

By Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, Pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn:—"The mob is always wrong. The mob should not be recognized at any time.

"We all deplore the tardiness of the law in such a case, but we have the power to alter this law.

"The crime was one that demanded prompt justice, but not the interference of the mob."

Pastor Ellwood is to be Pitied

By Rev. Dr. J. M. Ludlow, noted Presbyterian preacher and writer:—"Let us have a law as soon as possible that will render swift justice to every assailant of womanhood.

"The lynching at Wilmington has shown us what is demanded. We cannot have it any too soon.

"This was an infamous crime, enough to provoke mobs in the North.

"I am of the opinion that the mob's work could have been prevented by a speedy justice that would have given the murderer what his crime deserved.

"I have no sympathy with the mob that has cast such a blot on our civilization."

Lynching Spirit is a Legacy of Slavery

By Mrs. Russell Sage, wife of the famous financier:—"These horrible lynchings are the few remaining roots of the terrible wrong of slavery.

"I cannot excuse a lynching—not even of such a beast as George White.

"Every human being has the desire to kill in his make-up. We see it even in children. To arouse it is dangerous. A lynching always leaves a community the worse for it. The good are embittered and hardened — the bad made worse.

"It is a terrible thing to me to think that that beautiful girl had no protection — no one to assist her in her fight for life and honor. It seems as though it might be well for every one to carry a revolver nowadays.

"I do not see any particular significance in the fact that lynchings are occurring further North. The particular danger of this fact is that it is reviving the old spirit.

"I fear there is lynching spirit latent right here in New York. I heard Mr. Sage tell today of seeing a negro orphan asylum looted and a negro hung on the streets of New York during the race riots years ago."

Girl's Father is a True Christian

By Rev. Father M. J. Lavelle, Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral: — "It was a detestable crime.

"The father has my sympathy. He proved himself a thorough Christian in trying to stay the mob.

"This lynching is a blot on our civilization that is to be regretted. Undoubtedly the law is slow — too slow in such cases — but we cannot expect the masses of the foreign element who flock to our shores to respect the laws if our own people take it in their hands.

"I have no sympathy with this lynch-law, and the sooner it is crushed out forever, the better for our country."

Only Americans Burn Their Victims

By Judge J. W. Bookwalter, of Ohio, who is at the Holland House: — "The Americans are the only people who BURN their victims. That is the point of

particularly horrible significance to me in the recent lynchings on Northern soil.

"I am astonished at the brutality of our nation when it is aroused. No matter what other barbarous cruelties uncivilized nations may resort to, they do not burn people. Lynchings and killings by mobs of excited people are not unknown in many countries. Our nation, however, seems to carry to terrible lengths its desire to do something new and novel. It becomes fiendish.

"It is also only too true that the lynching spirit as connected with the negro is not confined to any particular section of our country. It appears all over the United States. We used to excuse it by saying that it only occurred far South, where the race prejudice was extreme. We have no excuse today."

Barbarous Where Laws Are Equitable

By Rev. Dr. Reginald Campbell, the celebrated London Preacher:—"I should hate to think, even for a moment, what I would have done had my daughter been the victim of such an inhuman crime. It is too bad, too bad.

"I admire the Christian manhood displayed by the father of the girl.

"There are some crimes that provoke all the inhuman that is in a man, and this is one of them. Still, I cannot understand mob violence.

"Lynch-law is practically unknown to us abroad. It seems a bit barbarous where there are equitable laws to punish such a crime, even to the satisfaction of the most bitter-minded.

"No more can I account for the teaching of this minister of the gospel. It does seem decidedly unwise and unbecoming a minister to preach a lynch-law doctrine from his pulpit. But, on the other hand, one must weigh such incidents in the American scale, not in an English one. So that, after all, my opinions may not be so valuable as you choose to think.

"All summed up, it was a heartless affair, and the law should have been permitted to take its course. No law, however, could bring justice too swift in such a case."

Southerner's View of the Mob's Deed

By John C. Calhoun, former President of the Southern Society:—"I do not believe in mob violence in any form. I always believe in letting the law take its course, and in Northern States this can be done, for there are very few cases of attacks on women by negroes as compared with the Southern States.

"I have read a great deal in the newspapers of the Wilmington tragedy, and I regret it deeply.

"There are certain cases I can recall where lynching has been justified, for in doing this, men of the South have protected their women. If some lynchings did not take place, there would be more attacks on Southern women than there are by negroes."

The parents of the victim in this case were for the law taking its course, and were opposed to mob violence. The father said:—

"Let us not try to atone for one crime, no matter how hellish, by committing another."

Mr. William Travers Jerome, the district-attorney for the City of New York, gave the following as his opinion:—

"I think the condition of white people in the midst of a vast population of colored people of a low grade in certain parts of the South is a trying one. It is difficult for us in the North to judge occurrences there altogether fairly. But these conditions do not exist in Delaware.

"I can think of nothing to say in palliation of the horror of the deed done by presumably intelligent

citizens of Delaware in connection with the burning of this negro, George White.

"The case, however, seems to emphasize a feature of criminal law, and that is the evil that accompanies the delay in bringing offenders to speedy trial.

"Delays in trials of persons accused of crime when the offense is grave will always tend to create disorder and lead to individuals taking the law into their own hands, especially where great delay occurs.

"This spirit of vengeance may not be an estimable one, but it is a real one, and must be considered, especially in communities where the authorities have no great force at their command, as is the case in most parts of the country.

"I think if a white girl was killed by a colored man even in staid old New England, the chances of a lynching would be quite as great as in the South, unless the accused was at once removed to some important place of safety. It is the character of the offence rather than race prejudice, although, of course, the element of race prejudice does enter into it in certain parts of the South."

In my own opinion, I believe these lynchings will occur at the rate of from 200 to 300 annually just so long as the negro remains in the United States and is free, over a large area of it, to assault and murder women of every class of the white race. Nothing will prevent it, and all so-called remedies will only embitter the people and aggravate those who take an active part in these episodes of vengeance.

In reference to this affair, the following clipping is from a Northern paper, the record of which has been mislaid by me. I am under the impression that it is from *The Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C., of a date in the first week of February, 1893:—

Proud of the Affair

Everything is quiet at Paris, Tex. All who participated in the horrible torture of the negro Smith Wednesday boldly proclaim the part they took in the affair and say that they have no fear of arrest. The ashes of the funeral pyre were raked over yesterday and many persons carried away buttons and bones, etc., as relics of the affair.

On this subject, Senator J. J. Ingalls has said:—

“No one could read the ghastly and repulsive details of the recent burning of the negro in Texas, the mutilation, the thrusting of hot irons into the eyes, the aggravation of the agony, without compassionate incredulity. It was a revelation of inconceivable depravity. The crime of which the victim was accused was inexpressible, but the vengeance was equally infernal.” (*The Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, May 28, 1893, p. 27.)

As in the case of the lynching of the negro, George White, in Delaware, a year before this Texas affair, men raised their voices by the hundreds in denunciation of this horrible practice. Sometimes it was done after this fashion, and if the reader will refer back to the last Note, the following from *The New York Times* (September 22, 1903, p. 3), will be found to illustrate my meaning:—

DENUNCIATION OF LYNCHERS

Chief Justice Lore, of Delaware Supreme Court, Urges Grand Jury to Bring Them to Justice.

Wilmington, Del., Sept. 21.—Chief Justice Lore, of the Delaware Supreme Court, today delivered a strong charge to the Grand Jury, which is considering the criminal work of the county courts. After reciting the details of the murder on June 15, of Helen Bishop

by George White, and the subsequent lynching of White by a mob, Justice Lore said:

"The crime of George White and his punishment are not before us. Upon his body human vengeance has done its work. If the matter concerned George White alone, there would be nothing left for our consideration. But for the first time, the lawless and revolting crime of lynching has invaded this State.

"In obedience to the oath you have taken and to your duty to your State, we ask you to so act that the crime of lynching may be suppressed in this State, so far as by your action that end may be attained, and that the perpetrators of this crime and the authors of the disgrace that has come upon us through their crime, shall be dealt with according to their just merits."

For my part, I do not think the State of Delaware has anything to boast of in the matter of the punishment of her criminals. Being burnt alive is one thing, to be sure, but there are other tortures equally damnable, as the following DELAWARE record will attest. I clip it from the *New York American and Journal* (Sunday, September 27, 1903), and it appeared as follows:—

WHIPPING POST HAS 14 TORN VICTIMS TO EMBRACE IT

Punishment Which Spectators Turned from as Too Horrible to Witness Meted Out to Screaming Men in Delaware.

Wilmington, Del., Sept. 26.—Punishment almost mediæval in its severity was meted out to fourteen offenders in the City Prison here today, in the presence of hundreds of the citizens of the city.

Fourteen criminals were bound to the whipping post, and for more than an hour the stout-armed jailers sent the "cat" with its many thongs singing about the stripped bodies of the men. Many of those who

were witnesses of the punishment of the prisoners were unable to remain throughout the ordeal.

Those who witnessed the lashing of the prisoners admitted that it was the severest form of punishment inflicted in the United States, and that it has so far been shown to be the most effective. There was no mercy shown any man who was tied to the post, although in the case of three of the men the lashes were heavier than in the cases of the others.

Two notorious criminals received forty lashes each for highway robbery. One, for an attack upon a white woman, received thirty lashes; one, for larceny, received twenty lashes, and ten, for larceny, received ten lashes each.

Heaviest Whip for Him

Although Henry Pitts was only sentenced to receive thirty lashes, his was probably the heaviest punishment inflicted. Accused of an attack upon a white woman, he was whipped by the heaviest, brawniest jailer in the place, a man who made every cut of the whip raised a wale across the negroe's back which was followed by blood. The man was almost cut into ribbons by the "cat," and was nearly insensible when taken from the post.

After his whipping he was placed in the pillory and kept there from 1 until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, with William Dorsey, who had received ten lashes for larceny. When taken from the pillory, neither man could walk, and they were barely able to stand.

Particularly severe was the punishment of Thomas, alias "Whiskers" Mullin, convicted of highway robbery. It was not his first offence, and he was treated as an habitual criminal. Forty times the lash sang across his back bringing the blood at each cut, but the man at the post took his punishment without a murmur.

Albert Spencer, who was convicted with Mullin, of highway robbery, also received forty lashes, but did not bear his punishment as did his companion. While

undergoing the ordeal, he fainted, and dropped as far as the ropes with which he was tied would permit. While he hung thus against the post, the jailer continued to swing the "cat" across his shoulders until the full number of lashes had been given. Spencer was still unconscious when unbound and carried away into the jail.

He Danced and Screamed

A slight strain of comedy was injected into the affair by the action of Theodore Walcott and Albert Turner, two negroes convicted of larceny. Walcott had stolen a pair of shoes, and his outcries and pleadings for mercy continued from the moment he was led from the jail until the last lash had fallen across his bare body. He danced and screamed as the whip struck him, calling out all sorts of promises to the jailer who was handling the "cat," and making offers of numberless compromises. His whipping was fairly light, and he only received ten lashes, but from the protests and outcries of the man it might have been inferred that the heaviest punishment of the day was being given him. As the last stroke fell upon his shoulders, he yelled:

"I'll never steal another pair of shoes, mister, as long as I live."

"Well, see that you never steal anything as long as you live," said the jailer, grimly. "This post will be waiting for you all the time."

Albert Turner, who received twenty lashes for stealing, also showed that the punishment was effective. He danced around the post so quickly that in several cases the lashes missed him and struck the post. He danced away from the warden, who was whipping him, repeatedly, and had to be driven back with cuts upon the other side. He was crying bitterly when released from the post.

Still there are those who say that the American negro is a long-suffering being and only rarely guilty

of any criminal offence against the "dominant race." The following from *The New York Times* (Wednesday, August 19, 1903, p. 3), does not seem to support this opinion:—

NEGROES FIRE ON WHITES

Kill One of a Party of Arkansas Farmers Who Had Come to Rescue a Kidnapped Child.

Fort Smith, Ark., Aug. 18.—The kidnapping of a young white girl, and the killing of one of a posse that tried to rescue her, are the crimes charged against a party of eight negroes tonight fortified on Bruce's Island, sixteen miles west of this city. It is feared their capture will lead to a bloody encounter. The negroes are said to be well armed.

A few days ago two farmers, living near Wilson's Rock, landed on Bruce's Island in search of plums, and accidentally ran into a camp in which there were two negro men and a white girl about twelve years old. They made some inquiries about the girl, and the negroes said she was the daughter of a white man who was traveling with them, and who had gone to Fort Smith for provisions.

The negroes would not let the girl take part in the conversation, and this aroused suspicion. A watch was kept on the negroes for two days, but no white man appeared. Monday afternoon a party of farmers decided to investigate the case, and as they neared the island were fired on by the negroes and one of the party, Roland by name, was killed.

A sharp fight was kept up for some time, during which the girl escaped from the negroes and ran to the white men. She was so excited that she could not give any intelligent account of herself. She said, however, that her father was not traveling with the negroes, but that she had been stolen from her home, near Fort Gibson, I. T. She has been taken to Muldrew.

Roland, the dead man, was a comparative stranger at Wilson's Rock. Bruce's Island is in the centre of the Arkansas River, contains about twenty-five acres, and is densely covered with timber and thick underbrush.

Posses of citizens left today for the scene of the trouble from Fort Smith, Spiro, Muldrew, and Fort Gibson. There is much excitement around the island. One or two of the negroes are known to be desperate characters.

Such lawlessness on the part of negroes and the rioting they incite may even occur in the very heart of any of the great Northern cities. What the papers please to call race riots are of frequent occurrence, and were the negroes out of the country, no such disgraceful scenes would be known to the country. Scores of them now occur at the National Capital (Washington, D. C.), and I have been a witness to not a few of them. Here is a New York City example of the kind of trouble they give the people and the authorities. The Bronx is a part of the northeastern section of the city. (See the *New York Daily Tribune*, Sunday, August 16, 1903, p. 2, for the following news item):—

RACE WAR IN THE BRONX

Negro Cuts White Man — Rioting Ensues, and Many Persons Are Hurt.

In race rioting in The Bronx last night John Finnessy, forty years old, of No. 808 Jackson avenue, was stabbed in the abdomen, probably fatally, by a negro, who escaped. Fifty men with billiard cues and liquor bottles, and a dozen detectives, were chasing him at a late hour. The stabbing resulted in a race riot, and a hundred and fifty white men hunted negroes all night around the scene of the stabbing, at One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street and Washington avenue, bruising

ing and beating them and driving them into their homes or elsewhere, until the police became numerous enough to prevent further rioting. The reserves had to be turned out, as negroes and whites rushed to the scene to help their companions.

Two unidentified negroes did some drinking in the saloon of Gustave Kanze, at the southwest corner of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street and Washington avenue, about dusk last night, and had a quarrel with the proprietor about the payment of the last round. They settled, but were surly, and had to be put out. They threatened vengeance on the proprietor. They and a dozen other negroes were seen about 8:30 o'clock opposite the saloon. Allen Price, of No. 10 Weir Court, said he overheard threats to kill "Gus," which he believed to mean Kanze. One of the negroes went to the saloon door and called to Kanze to come outside.

First Act of Violence

Kanze was busy and did not leave, but Finnessy went to the sidewalk. The man who had called went back to the other negroes, and a knife was seen passed around among them. The first man took it and went back to Finnessy. He attacked the white man, stabbed him twice in the left arm, and then gave him a vicious dig in the abdomen, causing a wound six inches wide and two inches deep. Finnessy fell unconscious on the sidewalk, where he was left for a time, while fighting and rioting raged all about and around him.

The men in the saloon felt that trouble was brewing when the negro called to Kanze to come out, and they seized billiard cues and glasses and bottles, and rushed to the street. The man who did the stabbing fled toward Jerome avenue, and a lot of the men went after him.

"Kill him! Kill that nigger! Stone him! Shoot him!" were some of the shouts that went up from the pursuing crowd.

Rioting Breaks Loose

The dozen negroes who had accompanied Finnessy's assailant were attacked by the mob of men, aided by a lot of white laborers of that neighborhood, who fled out of their homes with all sorts of weapons. They rushed at the negroes, beat them with stones, sticks, billiard-cues, glasses and bottles, cut a number of them and bruised all, and drove them into the darkness or to their homes.

All the time women and children were fleeing to their own or neighbors' homes, and whites and blacks were running out of their houses to help men of their own race. Many negroes live on One Hundred and Sixty-fifth street, near Washington avenue, and many of them ran out with knives and whatever they could use as weapons, the whites running out with similar weapons. None had revolvers, and no shots were fired, but this is believed to be caused by the fact that people about there are too poor to have pistols.

The neighborhood was in a state of terror. Yells of brutal vengeance, of triumph, of terror, or pain, of anger and of command came from one side and the other as whites and negroes clashed and beat each other. Policeman Belton, of the Morrisania station, ran up with a club, but no one paid any attention to him, and he ran to a telephone, calling on his station for aid and the Lebanon Hospital for an ambulance and surgeon for Finnessy. Half a dozen detectives ran down from Morrisania station, but they saw such a hopeless riot before them that the reserves were asked for immediately, and the wagonful of men was run down as fast as the horses could draw it.

Many Men Hurt Fighting

Dozens of white and colored men were cut in the fight. Many cut negroes, with faces bleeding, were seen running into their homes near by. After a little time they found themselves so inferior in numbers that they retreated, and the white men, yelling triumph-

antly, fell on them bodily and bruised and cut them until all fled in terror.

Just as the last of the white men were returning from the chase, four negroes, who knew nothing of the trouble, walked into Kanze's saloon. The white men rushed at the negroes, beating them with fists and clubs, and when they saw the police coming bolted the doors. The police broke in the door and rescued the colored men. They kept the white men off until they escorted the negroes out of sight.

Captain Byrne, of the Morrisania station, sent out a squad of men to capture the man who stabbed Finnessy and prevent any harm coming to him. Finnessy was taken from the sidewalk, where he lay bleeding during the rioting, and taken to the Lebanon Hospital. He was at once placed on the operating table, but his chances were regarded as slim.

Charles Jackson, alleged slayer of Charles Roxbury, the tea-taster, is supposed to have belonged to the same crowd of negroes which assailed Finnessy.

Note 5. Page 139.

All sorts of opinions, and all sorts of actions have been taken in the matter of lynching, and I feel that the value of the present volume will be greatly enhanced by recording a few of the most important ones in this APPENDIX. Some of them will illustrate what Thomas has to say in his work, "The American Negro."

The following is a cut-and-dried opinion by a member of the Supreme Court of the United States. Any ordinarily educated young man of twenty-five might have written it out, and expressed such an *opinion* quite as well. Lynching will go on in spite of such high legal hum-drum. I clip this from the *New York Daily Tribune* of Monday, August 17, 1903, p. 7. It runs thus:—

THE CRIME OF LYNCHING

Plain Words by Justice Brewer of United States Supreme Court.

The following article by Justice Brewer on the crime of lynching will appear in the current issue of *Leslie's Weekly*. In it Justice Brewer sets forth more fully the views he has already made public in regard to lynching as a blot on our civilization and what can be done to stay the epidemic of the crime. The full text of the article is as follows:

"Our government recently forwarded to Russia a petition in respect to alleged atrocities committed upon the Jews. That government, as might have been expected, unwilling to have its internal affairs a matter of consideration by other governments, declined to receive the petition. If, instead of so doing, it had replied that it would put a stop to all such atrocities when this government put a stop to lynchings, what could we have said?

"No one can be blind to the fact that lynching is becoming altogether too common, and presents a serious question for the consideration of thoughtful lovers of their country. There have been two kinds of lynch-law, and it is well to distinguish between the two. In San Francisco, for instance, many years ago the better citizens became convinced that the officials were in league with gamblers and other wrongdoers—hence, crime was rampant, neither life nor property being sacred. Deliberately they came together, organized, and in effect took possession of the government, administering law promptly and severely; with the results—as claimed—that crime was checked and order re-established. Whatever may be said of such a movement, it is not like the lynch-law that now prevails. It was more in the nature of a revolution, by which the regularly-elected officers were put out of office and a new government established. But the lynching which now attracts atten-

tion is the temporary uprising of a mob, called into being by the commission of some terrible crime, the perpetrator of which it seeks to punish.

Barbarity of Savage Torture

"It is well to look the matter fairly in the face. Many good men join in these uprisings, horrified at the atrocity of the crime and eager for swift and summary punishment. Of course, they violate the law themselves, but rely on the public sentiment behind them for escape from punishment. Many of these lynchings are accompanied by the horrible barbarities of savage torture, and all that can be said in palliation is the atrocity of the offences which led up to them. For a time they were confined largely to the South, but that section of the country no longer has a monopoly. The chief offence which causes these lynchings has been the rape of white women by colored men. No words can be found too strong to describe the atrocity of such a crime. It is no wonder that the community is excited. Men would disgrace their manhood if they were not. And if a few lynchings had put a stop to the offence, society might have condoned such breaches of its law; but the fact is, if we may credit the reports, the crime, instead of diminishing, is on the increase. The black beast (for only a beast would be guilty of such an offence) seems to be not deterred thereby. More than that, as might be expected, lynching for such atrocious crimes is no longer confined to them, but is being resorted to for other offences.

"That lynching is a blot on our civilization no one questions, and European nations are pointing to it as evidence of a lower civilization. Shall we let this go on and thus practically admit that, in many respects, this is no longer a government of laws, but partly one of mobs? We seldom hear of lynchings across the waters; somehow or other it is an epidemic which prevails in America, but not in Europe. We all know that punishment of crime justly and promptly admin-

istered by legal methods tells of a higher condition of society than the wild outcries and hasty judgment of mobs. Take the case of the assassin of our late much-loved President; how much more it speaks for our civilization that in an orderly way, before a legal tribunal, the assassin was tried, having the benefit of counsel, and thereafter put to death in accordance with the dictates of law, than if an angry mob had torn him from the officers of the law and tortured him to death.

To Stay Epidemic of Crime

“What can be done to stay this epidemic of lynching? One thing is the establishment of a greater confidence in the summary and certain punishment of the criminal. Men are afraid of the law’s delays and the uncertainty of its results. Not that they doubt the integrity of the judges, but they know that the law abounds with technical rules, and that appellate courts will often reverse a judgment of conviction for a disregard of such rules, notwithstanding a full belief in the guilt of the accused. If all were certain that the guilty ones would be promptly tried and punished, the inducement to lynch would be largely taken away. In an address which I delivered before the American Bar Association at Detroit some years since, I advocated doing away with appeals in criminal cases. It did not meet the favor of the association, but I still believe in its wisdom. For nearly a hundred years there was no appeal from the judgment of conviction of criminal cases in our federal courts, and no review, except in a few cases in which, two judges sitting, a difference of opinion on a question of law was certified to the Supreme Court. In England the rule has been that there was no appeal in criminal cases, although a question of doubt might be reserved by the presiding judge for the consideration of his brethren. The Hon. E. J. Phelps, who was Minister to England during Mr. Cleveland’s first administration, once told me that while he was there only two cases were so reserved.

Does anyone doubt that justice was fully administered by the English courts?

"Opponents of this suggestion fall back on the ancient maxim that 'It is better that ninety-nine guilty men escape than that one innocent man be punished.' Maxims, like other things, are good in their places, but, like other things, may often be overworked. When criminal trials were conducted as they were in England a century and a half ago — defendant without counsel, trial with little publicity and the press an unknown factor — that maxim was good enough; but to-day, when a prisoner is guaranteed counsel, when trials are viewed by throngs of spectators, and the press makes public every detail, it seems well to as often consider President Grant's direction, 'Let no guilty man escape.'

Prompt Action by Courts

"Further, laws have been passed requiring an immediate convening of courts and giving priority of hearing to certain civil cases deemed of public moment. Why may not direction be given to the presiding judge of the proper court, when such an atrocious crime has been committed as those giving rise to lynchings, to immediately convene that court and put the accused at once on trial? If this were done and no appeal were allowed, would not the community be more confident that full punishment would be promptly meted out? If it be said that under the haste of such a trial some innocent men might be punished, a sufficient reply would seem to be that justice will be more likely done than when a mob takes the law into its own hands. If it were deemed necessary to guard against even a possibility of injustice, the statute might require that the testimony be taken down by a stenographer and at once presented to the Supreme Court, and if, in its judgment, not that some technical rules of law have been disregarded, but that an innocent man has been convicted, authorize it to stay the execution and grant a new trial.

"It is said, in extenuation of lynching in case of rape, that it is an additional cruelty to the unfortunate victim to compel her to go upon the witness stand and in the presence of a mixed audience tell the story of her wrongs, especially when she may be subject to cross-examination by overzealous counsel. I do not belittle this matter, but it must be remembered that often the unfortunate victim never lives to tell the story of her wrongs; that if she does survive, she must tell it to some, and the whole community knows the fact. Even in the court-room any high-minded judge will stay counsel from any unnecessary cross-examination; and, finally, if any lawyer should attempt it, the community may treat him as an outcast. I can but think that if the community felt that the criminal would certainly receive the punishment he deserves, and receive it soon, the eagerness for lynching would disappear, and mobs, whose gatherings too often mean not merely the destruction of jails and other property, but also the loss of innocent lives, would greatly diminish in number.

"One thing is certain — the tendency of lynching is to undermine respect for the law, and unless it be checked we need not be astonished if it be resorted to for all kinds of offences, and oftentimes innocent men suffer for wrongs committed by others."

Here is another (see *The New York Evening Journal*, Monday, August 10, 1903, p. 6): —

LYNCHING IS ANARCHY, SAYS ROOSEVELT

President in Letter to Governor Durbin Praises Recent Action — Wants Quicker Justice.

Hattiesburg, Miss., Aug. 10.—Amos Jones, a negro, was lynched by a mob for shooting and mortally wounding Jailer M. M. Sexton.

President Roosevelt has sent the following letter to Governor Durbin, of Indiana: —

"Permit me to thank you, as an American citizen, for the admirable way in which you have vindicated the majesty of the law by your recent action in reference to lynching.

"Mob violence is simply one form of anarchy, and anarchy is now, as it always has been, the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny.

"All thoughtful men must feel the gravest alarm over the growth of lynching in this country, and especially over the peculiarly hideous forms so often taken by mob violence when colored men are the victims — on which occasions the mob seems to lay most weight, not on the crime, but on the color of the criminal.

Criminal Forfeits Sympathy

"In a certain proportion of these cases the man lynched has been guilty of a crime horrible beyond description, a crime so horrible that as far as he himself is concerned, he has forfeited the right to any kind of sympathy whatsoever.

"The feeling of all good citizens that such a hideous crime shall not be hideously punished by mob violence is due not in the least to sympathy for the criminal, but to a very lively sense of the train of dreadful consequences which follow the course taken by the mob in exacting inhuman vengeance for an inhuman wrong.

"In such cases, moreover, it is well to remember that the criminal not merely sins against humanity in inexpiable and unpardonable fashion, but sins particularly against his own race, and does them a wrong far greater than any white man can possibly do them. Therefore, in such cases the colored people throughout the land should in every possible way show their belief that they, more than all others in the community, are horrified at the commission of such a crime, and are peculiarly concerned in taking every possible measure to prevent its recurrence and to bring the criminal to immediate justice. The slightest lack of

vigor, either in denunciation of the crime or in bringing the criminal to justice, is itself unpardonable.

Swift Justice Required

"Every effort should be made under the law to expedite the proceedings of justice in the case of such an awful crime. But it cannot be necessary in order to accomplish this to deprive any citizen of those fundamental rights to be heard in his own defence which are so dear to us all and which lie at the root of our liberty.

"It certainly ought to be possible by the proper administration of the laws to secure swift vengeance upon the criminal, and the best and immediate efforts of all legislators, judges and citizens should be addressed to securing such reforms in our legal procedure as to leave no vestige of excuse for those misguided men who undertake to reap vengeance through violent methods.

"We must show that the law is adequate to deal with crime by freeing it from every vestige of technicality and delay.

"It is, of course, inevitable that where vengeance is taken by a mob it should frequently light on innocent people; and the wrong done in such a case to the individual is one for which there is no remedy. But even where the real criminal is reached the wrong done by the mob to the community itself is well nigh as great. Especially is this true where the lynching is accompanied with torture.

Participation Degrades

"There are certain hideous sights which when once seen can never be wholly erased from the mental retina. The mere fact of having seen them implies degradation. This is a thousandfold stronger when, instead of merely seeing the deed, the man has participated in it.

"Whoever, in any part of our country, has ever taken part in lawlessly putting to death a criminal by

out
frying
man

the dreadful torture of fire must forever after have the awful spectacle of his own handwork seared into his brain and soul. He can never again be the same man.

"Every violent man in the community is encouraged by every case of lynching in which the lynchers go unpunished, to himself take the law into his own hands whenever it suits his own convenience. In the same way, the use of torture by the mob in certain cases is sure to spread until it is applied more or less indiscriminately in other cases.

"The spirit of lawlessness grows with what it feeds on, and when mobs, with impunity, lynch criminals for one crime, they are certain to begin to lynch real or alleged criminals for other causes.

The Nation Will Suffer

"The nation, like the individual, cannot commit a crime with impunity. If we are guilty of lawlessness and brutal violence, whether our guilt consists in active participation therein or in mere connivance and encouragement, we shall assuredly suffer later.

"The corner-stone of this Republic, as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law. Where we permit the law to be defied or evaded, whether by rich man or poor man, by black man or white, we are by just so much weakening the bonds of our civilization and increasing the chances of its overthrow, and of the substitution therefore of a system in which there shall be violent alternation of anarchy and tyranny. Sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"Hon. Winfield T. Durbin, Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Ind."

Six days after the above high opinion had been published in nearly every newspaper in the United States, and one would have thought that the practice of lynching would have been stayed for a week at least, the following encouraging news came to light, having

been published in the *New York Daily Tribune* (Sunday, August 16, 1903, p. 4). It was given to its readers in the following manner, to wit:—

WANTS BLACKS KEPT OUT

Indiana Editor Starts Movement Against Negroes.

Laporte, Ind., Aug. 15.—To prevent the settlement of any negro in Northwestern Indiana is the object of a movement begun by A. J. Bowser, editor of *The Chesterton Tribune*, in which he is finding much sympathy and support. The county jail at Valparaiso was under heavy guard last Sunday, and the streets were filled with crowds of angry farmers and Normal School students clamoring for the life of a negro tramp who on the previous day had assaulted and dangerously injured the wife of a farmer in Porter County. The counsels of cool men prevailed, and no attack was made on the jail, but the intense excitement extended through the country districts, and did not subside for several days. This state of affairs led to the suggestion of Mr. Bowser.

Had the negro never been in the country, no such practice as this would have come in vogue.

A DOUBLE LYNCHING EXPECTED

Mob in Wyoming Threatens Jail Where Two Murderers Are Confined.

Cheyenne, Wyo., Aug. 15.—Advices from Lander this morning indicated that the town would probably be the scene of a double lynching, with James Keffer and James Dollard the victims. A large crowd of excited men gathered about the Lander jail last night, and for a time it looked as though the prison would be stormed at once. The mob was armed with rifles and revolvers, and two or three men carried ropes.

After a brief consultation among the leaders, however, the crowd apparently dispersed. Since then,

though, men have been seen lurking near the jail, and it is believed that the dispersing of the mob was only a ruse to throw the officers off their guard. It is feared an attempt will be made tonight to take Dollar and Keffer from jail and hang them. Only the regular guard is at the jail.

Dollard killed Frank Bryant in a saloon on Wednesday night, after having brained Ross Stringer with a board in the street. He was a rough rider, and was "shooting up" the town at the time. Keffer was convicted of murdering William Marrin, a stage tender on the Lander-Rawlins line, two years ago, and was sentenced to be hanged, but a stay of execution was granted pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

One Negro Lynched; After More

Natchez, Miss., Aug. 15.—Bee Washington, a negro, who killed Stanley Wood, eighteen years old, a clerk at the Line Store, which divides this State from Louisiana, last Monday, has been captured by a posse at Red River Landing, taken to Tarbert, a river point near the scene of the crime, and, it is reported, lynched. The posse is in pursuit of several negroes who supplied Washington with money, clothes and provisions.

It is by no means difficult to find men holding the highest positions in the Christian Church who are in favor of lynching negroes, as the following clipping from the *New York Times* (September 18, 1903, page 1), will vouch for:—

BISHOP'S VIEW OF LYNCHING

Arkansas Ecclesiastic, Formerly an Ohioan, Thinks No Other Remedy Adequate to the Crime.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Cleveland, Sept. 17.—Bishop William M. Brown, of the Arkansas Diocese of the Episcopal Church, for-

merly an Ohioan, was in the city today en route to Washington, D. C., to attend the Missionary Council of the Episcopal Church, and the convention of the American House of Bishops. Speaking of the race problem, he expressed himself quite plainly.

"While I do not justify lynching, I can find no other remedy adequate to suppress the crime for which this has been made a punishment by the people of the South," he said.

"I am a Northern man, and used to look with horror on lynching, but since I have been South, my eyes have been opened. Imprisonment does no good.

"I am of the opinion that it would be well to leave the solution of the negro question to the Southern people; they know best what to do.

"The enfranchisement of the negro has been a serious mistake. Very few of them have any convictions and their votes are cast as a rule for the men who pay the most money."

Such opinions, coming from the Christian Church, stirred up all kinds of bad blood, especially as only a few days before another "pastor" had expressed himself to the same effect. The following from the same newspaper stands in evidence of this (Monday, September 7, 1903, p. 2):—

SCORE PRO-LYNCHING PASTOR

The Rev. Mr. Hillyer of Macon Gets Letters Suggesting That He Ought to be Hanged.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Macon, Ga., Sept. 6.—The sermon of the Rev. J. I. Hillyer, a prominent Baptist minister, in which he attempted to show that there is Biblical authority for lynch-law, has resulted in his receiving abusive letters from the Northern and Western States. Some of these letters are couched in language that approaches a violation of the postal laws.

A Cincinnati man, who signs himself "Reader," writes:

"Inclosed find clipping from *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, which is the production of the very lowest type of a Southern man, and the producer is not worthy to be called reverend. I suppose it's also God's law for you dirty so-called ministers to go around breaking up families, as you have done for years, and are still doing. Any one who will mix God's law with the law made by one of your type should not be allowed to preach to decent congregations."

K. D. Marshen, of Niles, Mich., writes:

"A man who will use the Bible to prove lynching is right should be himself lynched, and hell is now full of better men than the minister who would preach such a sermon."

Another, bearing a Houston, Ill., date, denounces Mr. Hillyer as a negro hater, and declares that his sermon is calculated to inspire mob law, not only throughout the South, but in every State in the Union.

Referring to the letters, Dr. Hillyer says: "There is no doubt of the truth of every declaration I made in that sermon, and I stand squarely upon every utterance in that pulpit that night."

Still the broil is kept up. Negroes here, negroes there, negroes everywhere. Wherever they settle, trouble, turmoil and crime are all immediately in evidence. Their very presence will often depreciate property, even if they do not come to commit rape and murder, steal and lie. The following clipping, taken from the same paper and page as above, amply demonstrate this:—

OBJECT TO NEGRO NEIGHBOR

Residents of a Baltimore Street Plan to Force Him to Move.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 6.—The white residents in a block in East Monument street were holding indig-

nation conferences today to arrange for protesting against the occupation by a negro coachman of Charles E. McLane, Assistant Treasurer of the Mercantile Trust and Deposit Company, of a house in the block. The coachman and his family, a wife and seven children, have moved in, and the white property-owners are devising a plan to move the negroes out.

A delegation will visit Mr. McLane to-morrow and demand the removal of the coachman to another neighborhood, and, should he refuse, a mass-meeting will be held to express publicly the indignation of the neighborhood, which is populated entirely by white people, most of whom own their houses. Mr. McLane recently bought the property occupied by the negro, who then moved in.

It is likely that Mr. McLane will have the coachman move. There has been considerable agitation in several sections of the city over the encroachments of the negroes which has greatly depreciated the value of property.

Again, General Fitzhugh Lee, a typical Southern man, who fought for the Confederates during the Civil War, held an important command in the Spanish-American War, and after it, was American Consul at Havana, Cuba, has expressed a brief opinion on the point. It was published in the same paper as above on an earlier date (July 29, 1903, page 1), and reads thus:—

FITZHUGH LEE ON LYNCHING

Nobody Believes in it, He Says, but One of Its Objects Is Worth Considering.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Kansas City, Mo., July 28.—Gen. Fitzhugh Lee was in Kansas City today on his way to lecture in Beloit, Kan.

"I don't believe in lynching," said the General, when that subject was brought up. "Nobody be-

lieves in it. One of the objects attained by lynching, however, is seldom considered. If a man, say a negro, maltreats a woman, perhaps some very dear relative of yours, he has got to be killed or arrested. If this negro is arrested after his crime and is brought into the court-room, the woman, the one who has suffered already, is the principal witness. She must appear and, perhaps under the cross-examination of lawyers, she must relate even the details of the maltreatment, thus subjecting herself to great humiliation."

Note 6. Page 150.

Women who have been assaulted by negroes are invariably in favor of their destruction, or even sometimes the torture, of the assaulter. The following in connection with the case of Mrs. Labouisse, stands in evidence of this. It is from the *New York Times* of November 10, 1903, (p. 1). It was published thus:—

WOMAN DEFENDS LYNCHERS

Mrs. Labouisse Was Glad That Her Assailant Was Killed.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Pass Christian, Miss., Nov. 9.—Mrs. Peter Labouisse, the young matron of New York, who was attacked last Thursday by Sam Adams, a negro, who was soon afterward lynched, spent today in this resort. Although not injured in the struggle, Mrs. Labouisse's nerves are still completely unstrung. She has remained in her room since the experience.

"It was only when I heard that that wretched creature was hanged that I began to experience a feeling of relief," said Mrs. Labouisse today. "I was so glad that the people had taken the law into their own hands. There was no doubt as to his identity. I don't see how they could possibly have acted otherwise than they did."

This case needs no further comment here. There is not one woman in five hundred who is strong enough to resist, in a lonely place, by herself, the persistent attack of a burly, brutal, powerful and persistent negro. Unless aid comes quickly, the damnable fiend is certain to be successful and overpower his intended victim, and consummate the rape.

Note 7. Page 153.

Over ten years ago (*The Chicago Tribune*, May 28, 1893, p. 27), United States Senator John J. Ingalls was heartily in favor of compulsory expatriation of the negroes of this country. In the place cited he says:—

DEPORTATION AT ANY PRICE

If this condition is the inevitable consequence of the contact of the two races, separation, voluntary or compulsory, at whatever cost, is the dictate of wisdom, morality, and national safety. If reconciliation upon the basis of justice and equal rights is impossible, then migration to Africa should be the policy of the future. To that fertile continent from whence they came they would return, not as aliens and strangers, but to the manner born. To their savage kindred who still swarm in its solitudes they would bring the alphabet, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bible. Emancipated from the traditions of bondage, from the habit of obedience and imitation, from the knowledge of its vices, which is the only instruction of a strong race to a weaker, the African might develop along his axis of growth and Ethiopia stretch out her hand to God.

The negro might not want to go. He is a native. He is a citizen. He has the right to stay. So he has the right to vote. He has the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He has been deprived of them all. Only the right of domicile remains. He

could, perhaps, submit to the loss of this with the same resignation which has accompanied his surrender of the rest. There are vague indications of cleavage. In some regions the inertia is being overcome. Communities are pervaded by aimless agitations like those which preceded the flight of the Tartar tribe across the desert. The "exodus" is an intimation of what may follow. The feasibility of this colonization of Africa, the cost and conditions of a migration so prodigious, its effect upon the civilization of the two continents and the destiny of the two races, are subjects too vast and momentous for consideration here.

JOHN J. INGALLS.

Note 8. Page 159.

Fortunately there are many, many people in this country who entertain very different opinions than those held by Mr. W. P. Garrison. Hundreds upon hundreds of negroes in this country would leave it now, were the way only properly opened to them. Years after Senator Ingalls published what is here reprinted in Note 7, and years after Mr. Garrison wrote me the letter he did (Chapter VIII., p. 159), this question of deporting the negroes now in the United States is as warmly advocated as ever. In support of this fact, I here reproduce the admirable address of Mr. John Temple Graves, as it was published in the *New York Times* of Friday, September 4, 1903, (p. 3). It runs as follows:—

FOR A NEGRO REPUBLIC

John Temple Graves Advocates One in Philippines—Would Have No White Man Vote There—Hopeless to Solve Problem Here—Blacks Still Slaves.

Chicago, Sept. 3.—In an address on "The Problem of the Races" before the forty-eighth convocation of the University of Chicago, John Temple Graves advo-

cated as a solution of the race problem the establishment in the Philippines of a negro State, where no white man should be allowed to vote. He said in part:

"The experiment of political equality has had thirty-eight years of trial, backed by the power of the Federal Government, and by the sympathy of the world. It has failed. From the beginning to the hour that holds us, it has failed.

"The races are wider apart and more antagonistic than they were in 1865. There is less of sympathy, and more of tension than the races have known since the terrible days of reconstruction made chaos in the South.

"Four decades after his emancipation, the negro is in point of fact less a freeman and infinitely less a citizen than he was in 1868. The tumult of the times about us proclaims the continued existence and the unreconciled equations of the problem that he makes, and in the common judgment of mankind the legend failure is written large and lowering above the tottering fabric of his civil rights.

"A Chinese wall of prejudice shuts out the South on this question from the sympathy of the American people, and although fraternal platitudes may cross it, and political affiliations may scale it, and commercial interchange may run its electric wires under and above it, and although but recently military loyalty has seemed to shatter it, this wall stands, in the sight of God and of nations, and hedges in the South as a separate and peculiar people, hindered with misapprehension, held aloof in prejudice, and fretted by a criticism which, if sometimes founded in philanthropy, is too often expressed in passion and answered in bitterness.

"And so long as the problem stands the old slave States of the South, unwillingly, protestingly, despairingly, and yet inevitably, must be and will be the continuing gap in the magnificent line of our National unity.

"It is a problem of moral decay. It demoralizes politics. Wherever a black supremacy is threatened through a black majority, the black ballot is strangled without reserve in the black hands that hold it against the safety of the State. This is wrong. It is illegal. It is monstrous. But it is true.

"Never, never in a thousand years will the negro, North or South, be allowed to govern in this Republic, even where his majorities are plain. We might as well fix that fact in our minds to stay. No statute can eradicate, no public opinion can remove, no armed force can overthrow the inherent, invincible, indestructible, and, if you will, the unscrupulous capacity and determination of the Anglo-Saxon race to rule.

"In a land of light and liberty, in an age of enlightenment and law, the women of the South are prisoners to danger and to fear. While your women may walk from suburb to suburb and from township to township, without escort and without alarm, there is not a woman of the South, wife or daughter, who would be permitted or who would dare to walk at twilight ungarded through the residence streets of a populous town or to ride the outside highways at midday.

"The terror of the twilight deepens with the darkness, and in the rural regions every farmer leaves his home with apprehension in the morning and thanks God when he comes from the fields at evening to find all well with the women of his home.

"Here, then, the issues — Unity of the Republic, material development, purity of politics, political independence, respect for the ballot, reverence for the Constitution, the safety of our homes, the sanctity of our women, the supremacy of law, the sacredness of justice, the integrity of race, and the unity of the Church.

"There he stands, that helpless and unfortunate inferior. For his sake, the one difference has widened between the sections of our common country. Over his black body we have shed rivers of blood and treas-

ure to emphasize our separate convictions of his destiny.

"And yet as the crimson tide rolls away into the years, we realize that all this blood and treasure and travail was spent in vain, and that the negro, whom a million Americans died to free, is in present bond and future promise still a slave, whipped by circumstance, trodden under foot by iron and ineradicable prejudice; shut out forever from the opportunities which are the heritage of liberty, and holding in his black hand the hollow parchment of his franchise as a freeman looks through a slave's eyes at the impassable barriers which imprison him forever within the progress and achievement of a dominant and all-conquering race.

"Separation of the races is the way — the only way. Is the expense appalling? Is the cost prohibitive? England again offers an example. England, our mother country — England, next to ourselves, the greatest and most enlightened Government under the sun — England has just put its hand into its pocket to expend \$500,000,000 in order to buy out the Irish landlords and to heal the otherwise incurable running sore of Irish discontent.

"It may be that the islands of the sea were placed by Providence in our keeping to furnish an answer to the problem of the times.

"No reasonable or considerate plan would call for the wholesale or summary deportation of the negro. With his consent, and with Governmental aid, the movement might proceed slowly and with consideration. If only the vessels that brought foreigners to our shores from 1880 to 1885 had carried back to Africa as many negroes as they brought immigrants to us, not a single black man, woman, or child would have been left in the country in 1885!

"The superb inducement to the negro would be found in the freedom, the individuality, and the opportunity of an independent commonwealth, in which he would be freed from the unequal competition of a

superior people, and given a chance to develop a character, and to demonstrate the merits of his leaders and the capacities of the race. Let no white man vote in the negro State to harass the negro's councils, and let no negro vote in any other State than his own.

"The chief opposition in the South would rest upon the misapprehension which you doubtless share, that the negro is indispensable to the agriculture and labor conditions of that section. That was once true. It is no longer true.

"I state here for the first time a fact which will be as surprising to the South as it is to you. The negro no longer makes the staple or cereal crops of the South! The cotton of Texas, of Louisiana, and of Mississippi is made chiefly by the white man, and not by the negro! The negro is no longer an industrial necessity. This fact is from the census.

"For half a hundred years we have wrangled and fought and bled and died about this black man from Africa! Is the wrangle worth its fearful cost? Shall the great Northern section of our common country always turn its hand against the great Southern section of our country? Shall the young American of the North steel his heart against the young American of the South over an alien's cause?

"I appeal for Caucasian unity. I appeal for the imperial destiny of our mighty race. This is our country. We made it. We molded it. We control it, and we always will. We have done great things. We have mighty things yet to do.

"The negro is an accident — an unwilling, a blameless, but an unwholesome, unwelcome, helpless, unassimilable element in our civilization. He is not made for our times. He is not framed to share in the duty and the destiny which he perplexes and beclouds.

"Let us put him kindly and humanely out of the way. Let us give him a better chance than he has ever had in history, and let us have done with him."

In January, 1890, and through several numbers of that year, *The Open Court*, of Chicago, published a contribution on this subject from the pen of a no less distinguished American philosopher and world-renowned biologist than the late Prof. E. D. Cope. It also published several rejoinders from his critics on the question. All of the contributions I have before me at the present writing, they having been kindly furnished by Dr. Paul Carus, the editor of *The Open Court*. So valuable do I consider these articles, that it would give me great pleasure materially to add to the value of my present work by reproducing them here. They are rather too long, however, so I must content myself by giving only one of the replies of Professor Cope, and a reply from one of his critics.

In the issue of February 20, 1890,—fourteen years ago—appeared the following two of the series to which I refer:—

THE RETURN OF THE NEGROES TO AFRICA

To the Editor of *The Open Court*:

Mr. Frederick May Holland has replied to my article on the proposed removal of the African race, in the United States, to Africa, citing various objections to such a course. These objections are well known to the present writer. He is not a Democrat in politics, and was in the days of slavery, and still is, of anti-slavery opinions. He appreciates the amiable traits of the African, and, on the ground of personal convenience, prefers him as a servant to most representatives of the white race. He does not forget his great services during the war to both the South and the North. He is aware that no citizen can be banished under the Constitution on account of race or color, nor does he lay any stress on the matter of color. Many of the Eastern representatives of the Indo-European race are black, and some of the African negroes are very light. It is a question of race, and not of color.

But all this is subordinate to two questions which

are, as it seems to the present writer, of much greater importance, especially to a nation living under a republican form of government. These questions I have stated to be: 1st, that of negro rule; and 2d, that of negro mixture of race.

When a man has a service to perform to his kind, it is essential that he shall observe the physical conditions which are necessary to the performance of it. A teacher or preacher who should so live as to be in continual ill health, could not be said to be performing his duty. A judge, attorney, or member of Congress who should eat or drink himself sick as a habit, would not long retain his position.

The people of the United States have to show mankind how order may be conserved consistently with the greatest amount of personal liberty. This we think is accomplished under our form of government. But all races are not equally capable of sustaining this relation between order and freedom. In fact, what we know as the inferior races, the Mongolian and African, have never made successful attempts to sustain republican forms of government. The negro has conspicuously failed in all but absolute governments, whatever they may be in name. It is not certain that all the white race are capable of self-government at present. The neighboring so-called republic of Mexico is really a military despotism, although I believe that the material for a republic is there, and that at some future day that country will be in fact what it is now only in name.

The United States have made laws excluding the Chinese from our country. We have assumed the right to do this for our own protection. On the whole, the present writer approves of these laws, although some of the reasons assigned in support of them are not good, and the maltreatment of particular Chinese is a stain on the name of our country.

Many nations have at different periods of history removed parts of their populations outside of their bor-

ders for various reasons. It has seldom, if ever, occurred, so far as I know, that an equivalent for loss of property was granted in such cases, and as is proposed in the case of the removal of the American negroes to Africa.

Whatever reasons may have existed, or do exist, for the removal of particular peoples, or the exclusion of particular races from any country, they exist with tenfold force in the case of the negroes of the United States. In no country having a republican form of government, has the lowest race of mankind been found dwelling with the highest. The case is a new one, and demands some independence of thought for its treatment. So-called human rights appear to come into conflict with questions of physical fact or law. The pure idealist will sustain the former, in spite of the latter; but the wise man knows that he must bow to the latter, and acts accordingly. It seems hard to the idealist that inequalities between men exist, yet they do exist and appear to work injustice. But we cannot help it.

I will not discuss again the mental status of the black race. It is well known except to those who will not see. The ability to weave and raise crops does not make a man just or rational, or free him from degrading vices and maddening superstitions. As to race mixture, Mr. Holland is a trifle prejudiced in his remarks. The inferior race has never been known to resist the attractions of the superior, to any great extent, so far as I am aware; least of all, the negro. If Mr. Holland doubts the certainty of race-mixture, let him read history, or better, visit all countries where different races come in contact. The white race of the European coasts of the Mediterranean have not been benefited by their mixture with the African races, and these latter were and are superior to our negroes.

The reasons why the American negroes object to being returned to Africa are self-evident. As beneficiaries of a civilized nation, they have their rights

better protected than they would have under a government of their own race. It must not be forgotten that much of their orderly and "peaceable" conduct is due to this fact. When left to themselves they are not distinguished for those qualities. They enjoy here the use of the numberless inventions made by the white race. They have the advantage of intellectual and ethical instructions controlled by them. These advantages are offset to a small degree by the outrageous treatment they too often receive from a degraded type of white men in the South, whom the Southern authorities are not sufficiently active in bringing to justice.

I may be wrong, but I do not believe that our country ought to incur the risks incident to the existence of such a body of such a race in its midst. It is simply a question of self-preservation far more urgent than that presented by the Chinese question. The preferences of the negroes themselves must be in this case disregarded. In fact, the only natural right they have in the matter is to demand to be returned to Africa, from which their ancestors were carried against their own consent. The supposition that the South is not adapted for white labor will not bear examination. The negroes can be spared, and their place will be speedily filled with whites.

It is, however, difficult to convey to the general reader the seriousness of the difficulty as it appears to the student of species-characters in body and mind. The conclusion to be drawn from the facts is, that whatever of future progress the negro may have before him, it will take so long before he has reached the capacity to stand alone as competent for self-government, that we cannot take the risk of his presence here. Let him work out his own salvation without risking the future of the Indo-European. If he is so capable as some persons believe, it will do him no harm. If he succeeds no better in the future than he has in the past,

he will not surprise some who think they know him better.

E. D. COPE.

Philadelphia, February, 1890.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

To the Editor of *The Open Court*:

The state of public opinion sixty years ago on the question of Negro Emigration is brought vividly to my mind by some remarks upon the subject in *The Open Court* of February 6th.

The writer is mistaken when he says that the negro population of the country were largely opposed to emigration. The negro at the North had not at that time any distinctive influence, either in number or opinions, upon the ideas of the day, but ranged themselves in the lists of William Lloyd Garrison, at that time the editor of the *Liberator*, published in the city of Boston.

Mr. Garrison, with whom I subsequently became well acquainted, was a mild-spoken gentleman in social life, a trait that formed a great contrast to his vehement, vituperative editorials as they appeared week by week in the *Liberator*.

At that time Liberia had for Governor John Russ-
worm, a mulatto of superior intelligence, warmly up-
held by the Colonization Society, of which Mr. Gusney
was president, and B. B. Thatcher, poet and lecturer,
was secretary. The colored people, whatever they may
have since become, were supinely indifferent to the
movements made in relation to them, few attending
meetings called together where their interests were at
stake, and only one, Mr. Raymond (accent on last
syllable), a half-breed, warmly supported by Wendell
Phillips, ever pleading orally for his people.

It was not the negro who was opposed to emigra-
tion, but such men as Garrison and George Thomson,

of England. B. B. Thatcher presented the views of the Colonization Society and the growing value of the Liberian Colony, in eloquent and fervid oratory. He voiced the cultured and far-seeing ideas of statesmen and philanthropists, while the Abolitionists were looked upon as fanatics, and the negro stood between the two like the animal between the two bundles of hay.

If we except a few members of their race, the negro has never wasted his abundant sensuality upon any questions of race improvement. Toussaint L'Ouverture was a great man, despite of race, and Count Timines, who was in this country just before the opening of the Civil War, was a man of elegant culture, educated in Paris, and holding brave hopes for the emancipation of Hayti, which was the limit of his world, and he wrote a history of it, describing the terrible war of races, which has deluged that lovely island with blood.

The negro has never made endeavors to attain dominion or power. The negro has never made a start for liberty. Liberty has been thrust upon him,—and he receives it without dignity, uttering complaints and making statements known to be false, with constant appeals to Northern sympathy.

It may be Utopian to think of removing six millions of people to Africa, but once let emigration turn that way, and Africa will be remunerated for the wrong we have done her. We wrenched from her a sensual, ignorant, barbarous population, and we return thither a people with civilized instincts, and it is to be hoped with aspirations that may help the dark continent to wipe out her old pagan barbarism, cruelty, and sensuality, by creating in them the hope of culture and the intimations of Empire.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

Hollywood, N. C., February 12, 1890.

In the following contribution to *The Open Court* (Chi-

cago, June 12, 1890, p. 2331), Prof. Cope closed the discussion:—

THE RETURN OF THE NEGROES TO AFRICA

(By Prof. E. D. Cope.)

Criticism on my paper on this subject in *The Open Court* of January 23, 1890, having apparently ceased, I am disposed to recur to the subject for two reasons. One of these is that I wish to reply to my critics; and the other is that Mr. Henry M. Stanley is said to have taken up the subject, and to be prepared to place his knowledge of Central Africa at the disposal of the proper authorities when the project shall have been decided on.

I am not surprised to find that the objectors to the project of transferring the negroes from this country to Africa have nothing but sentimental objections to urge against it. They call their objections ethical, and imagine that they have the support of justice in their position. Their understanding of the import of ethics and justice may differ from mine, but I suspect that their view chiefly results from an ignorance of some fundamental principles of biology, and their failure to perceive the bearings of these on the problem.

In order to present a rational objection to the plan of separating the Ethiopian from the Indo-European race by 3,000 miles of water, its opponents should prove, first, that the negro and white races will not hybridize in the countries where they live together; or second, that the hybrid, if produced, possesses mental characteristics as good as those of the whites. Neither of my critics has done this, and until they do so, their objections are absolutely worthless. On the contrary, if the opposite of my position be proven, I will promptly abandon it. As to the question of injustice, we have to decide, if injustice there be, as to who shall be the sufferer. Shall we subject the higher race to deterioration; or shall we subject the lower to transportation without material loss to it. To do the former

is to injure the entire human species. To do the latter is to continue the process which the abolition of slavery inaugurated, to teach the negro to stand on his own legs, a process which can be no more called injustice than the exercise of the methods of education, which the world has for us all from childhood.

The hardships of the transportation would be trifling, and not greater than those which thousands of immigrants to this country voluntarily undergo. I have lived in various parts of the world, and I could be happy in any of them, provided my family and friends were not too far removed. Now it is not proposed to separate families and friends in this exodus, so that the picture of sufferings from this cause, drawn by one of my critics, is quite imaginary. As to the country, Stanley states that parts of the Upper Congo region are admirable as places of residence, and free from the swamps of many of our Southern States.

Abstract objections on the one side weigh little against facts on the other. Objections against compulsory education and against compulsory vaccination are of the same character, and are generally admitted to be valueless as against the important benefits accruing to mankind from the enforcement of these provisions.

I repeat again what appear to me to be the facts of the case. The characteristics of the negro-mind are of such a nature as to unfit him for citizenship in this country. He is thoroughly superstitious, and absolutely under the control of supernaturalism, in some generally degrading form, and the teachers of it. He is lacking in rationality and in morality. Without going further, these traits alone should exclude him from citizenship. Secondly, these peculiarities depend on an organic constitution which it will require ages to remove. Corresponding qualities in the lower strata of the white race, are modified or removed in a comparatively short time, on account of superior natural mental endowment. Thirdly, if he remains in this

country he will mix with the whites until in a half century or less, there will not be a person of pure negro blood in it. It follows from this that there will be, in accordance with the usual rate of increase, an immense population of mulattoes, where there should be an equal number of whites. The deterioration thus resulting would tell disastrously on our intellectual and moral, and consequently on our political, prosperity.

In view of these facts, it appears to me that the surplus in the treasury could not be better spent, and the navy of the country be better employed, than in the transportation of these people to Africa, where they can work out their own destiny, whatever that may be. The necessity seems to me to be great and urgent, and nothing but an ignorance of the facts of the case can prevent its being felt to be such by every white citizen of this republic.

It is not denied by me that the negro has various merits, and that in particular instances men of that race have risen to deserved prominence. But the general result is not altered by these exceptions. Senator Morgan's bill, or something like it, should be passed promptly, and its provisions carried into effect before the burden becomes greater, and the material conditions beyond our control.

These last words are prophetic in the extreme. Cope has been dead a number of years now, and it looks very much to me as though "the burden" had most decidedly become "greater, and the material conditions beyond our control."

The negroes themselves are not nearly so much averse to their leaving this country as many would have us believe; indeed, a very large proportion of them are heartily in favor of some kind of an emigration scheme. In support of this fact, I here publish some of their views on the subject set forth in the newspapers of the country for the past ten years or more. Thousands of them are ready to emigrate now.

The issue of *The Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C., of Monday, October 23, 1893 (p. 2), printed an article on this subject. It ran thus:—

TO SOUTH AMERICA

A Plan to Deport the Negroes From the United States — A Systematic Plan — Engineered by Colored People Who Favor the Scheme — Details From Kansas.

(Correspondence of *The Evening Star*.)

Topeka, Kan., Oct. 20, 1893.—In 1885, fifty prominent negroes of Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and other states met in Topeka and organized the "Central and South American Immigration Association and Equal Rights League of the Western Continent," the object being to organize the colored people of the United States into colonies and send them to South or Central America, there to found a new empire, build new homes and in time solve the race problem in this country by simply allowing the Anglo-Saxon to have full and unlimited sway.

When this scheme was first advanced it was talked about all over the country, and discussed pro and con in the newspapers, several prominent statesmen, notably John J. Ingalls, taking a hand. But finally interest waned and effort ceased, until recently, when the association developed an entirely new plan, and announced that active efforts would soon be made toward the deportation of negroes to South America by the various states, and that influential negroes would be sent into the lecture field to explain fully the plan of operation.

The Head of the Movement

Col. John M. Brown, the negro county clerk of Shawnee County, Kan., is president of the association, and S. W. Wine, of Kansas City, secretary. Brown is one of the ablest colored men in the West, and has been a prominent candidate for State auditor. In po-

litical campaigns he renders valuable service on the stump for the Republicans, and is recognized by the opposition as a forcible and convincing speaker. He came to Kansas twelve years ago at the head of an exodus from Mississippi, where he held a county office. He lived in the "black belt," and the overwhelming negro majority made it possible for him to secure a political position. He is thoroughly conversant with the negro problem in the South, and after twelve years of study and investigation he believes his plan the only one that will ever bring peace and happiness to his race. It will, he says, solve the vexing problem in the South, and at the same time deport these people to a country where there are no social distinctions, but where with the Latin races they would become cemented and a part of the whole.

When Col. Brown first launched his colonization scheme on the public he was met with strong opposition from leading colored men all over the country. They did not believe it practical, and declared that a wholesale emigration of negroes would tend to fasten upon them a greater servitude than that complained of on the cotton and sugar plantations of the South. Then the negroes were unacquainted with the social conditions existing in the South American countries; but since Col. Brown and his co-workers have, through printed matter and from the lecture platform, removed the prejudice which first existed, a wonderful change has taken place, and he is constantly receiving letters inquiring about the movement. Several years ago he laid his plans in detail before ex-Senator John J. Ingalls. That gentleman scouted the idea of colonizing the negroes in South America, and advanced the opinion that his plan of sending them back to Africa, their natural home, was the only feasible one by which the race question would ever be eliminated from society and politics in this country. Col. Brown, however, caused Ingalls to weaken on his proposition when he showed him the disadvantages of the African scheme.

He pointed out the fact that it would cost at least \$100 a head to transport the negroes to that country, and that the great vessels necessary in the shipment of them across the ocean would, of necessity, have to come back empty, for the reason that his country receives nothing from Africa in the way of staple products. On the other hand, to land them on the eastern shore of South America, it would not cost over \$15 a head, and on the return trips sugar, coffee and other South American products could be transported at a nominal cost.

A New Plan Formulated

Recently this association has formulated a new plan. Each State of the Union will be requested to organize a society for the purpose of pushing the scheme. Each State will be required to raise a fund sufficient to send from twenty-five to 100 families to South America as an experiment, and to provide for their wants for several years, in case they are unable to secure homes and make their own way. When these societies are formed among the negroes of the various states, during the coming winter, a board of directors will be chosen by each State association. Later, all these boards will come together and select a national board to go to Brazil, Bolivia, Argentine Republic and other South American countries and arrange with the government offering the best advantages for either the purchase or lease of lands for the American colonies. Each State board will have charge of the deportation from that State, and in order that the plan may be favorably received by the Afro-Americans and finally accepted by them as the best and surest way to solve the race problem, only industrious, intelligent and thrifty negroes will be taken in the first shipment. If they have sufficient money to make the trip, they will be expected to pay their passage; if they have not the necessary means the society of the State from which they go will pay the expenses. None of the indolent

and shiftless classes will be allowed in the first installment. The success or failure of the movement depends upon the class of people who first go to the new country, and the leaders will see to it that a good report comes back to stimulate others.

Each State Society a Stock Company

It is proposed to make every State society a stock company and solicit from Afro-Americans sums of from \$10 to \$50, which will go into a common fund for advancing the movement. One of the plans on foot is to build several large vessels to ply between New Orleans and points on the eastern coast of South America to be paid for out of this fund. If a head of a family wishes to aid the enterprise and at some future time desires to cast his lot with his brethren in the new Eldorado, his subscription will be received, placed to his credit and when he is ready to go the amount will be applied on the passage of himself and family to his new home. These vessels, Col. Brown thinks, would be a profitable investment for the association, because they would bring in a good revenue for carrying to the United States on their return trips the products of South America, which this country must have. Thus, while the deportation of the negroes from the United States to the new Southern home was going on, the association would reap a rich harvest in bringing back to this market the products of South American countries.

Col. Brown says negroes can be transported from points between New Orleans and St. Louis for about \$15 a head. He believes that after the first settlement is made, and the plan is proven a success, as he confidently believes it will be, that the association will not be able to take all who will want to go. He says there is ten times more vacant land in Brazil alone than all the negroes in the United States could properly cultivate. He has received letters from that government recently, saying that all the negroes who will may come and be assured of protection, homes and a

competency. He also has letters from the Argentine Republic and Bolivia, offering very flattering inducements. He is favorable to Brazil, and if the present troubles do not disturb his plans, will undoubtedly favor negotiations with that government. The climatic conditions are favorable, and there is plenty of land at very low prices. Speaking of the social question as it relates to that country, he said: "There the color line is obliterated and we would stand upon the same footing with the natives. Here we never can hope to enjoy that privilege."

Effect of the First Deportation

He believes the first deportation of negroes for the new Eldorado would create great excitement among their brethren in the South, and that thousands would want to join the procession. On this line he said: "Let a boatload of negroes, bound for the new country, leave St. Louis singing their old plantation songs as they floated down the Mississippi, and it would be almost impossible to hold the multitudes that cultivate and pick the cotton from the plantations along its banks. They would want to join the throng, because they would see beneath the lowering clouds that have shut out the light of freedom and independence, a silver lining, and they would feel that a brighter era was dawning. They would realize that there was in store for them in their new home something better than a life of drudgery and ceaseless toil, from which they are barely able to live. And this is not all," remarked President Brown. "For the first time in the history of this country the old ex-slave drivers and plantation magnates of the South would feel the sands slipping from under them. The cheap labor from which they have been able to amass fortunes would depart for a Southern clime in another country, and their plantations would grow up in weeds. The Winchester rifle and shot-gun, potent factors in Southern elections, would rust in their racks, and the race problem would be settled, and settled forever, in this coun-

try. The public domain is exhausted and the restless young men crowding West would turn to the deserted fields of the new South, where plantations would be divided and subdivided, until the Yankee had a voice in the politics of that section. All we ask is that Senator Ingalls and other statesmen who believe themselves burdened with the responsibility of settling the race problem will allow us to carve out our own destiny. We believe the South American emigration plan will solve the negro problem in this country, and if it does these statesmen, who have been so solicitous about our welfare, ought to be satisfied."

Only a short time ago *The World*, of New York City, printed the following as a news item, bearing upon this question (November 29, 1903, page 8), and this is what was set forth:—

NEGROES CALL FOR HELP TO EMIGRATE

Liberian Colonization Society Wants Assistance to Send Colored People to Africa—They Think This is Their Only Refuge—Ship to Carry Five Hundred or More from Savannah to Liberia in February.

To the Editor of *The World*:

Birmingham, Ala., Nov. 25.—If the cause we represent was less deserving of consideration at the hands of the people of America, we would hesitate to make this appeal on the eve of that day when we Americans are more than at any other time in the year appealed to to meet the demands made upon us by deserving humanity. We believe, however, that of all the obligations the American people owe to humanity the debt we owe the people that were once our slaves is possibly the greatest.

It is true that the purses of the philanthropic people of this country have been and are always wide open

when the real needs of the colored people are made apparent. Churches, schools, colleges and many other institutions of much importance to the race are prominent landmarks throughout the Southland, speaking eloquently of the generosity of the Anglo-Saxon toward these people, and more eloquent still are the intelligent, educated men and women of the race who have been qualified by those means to lead their people out of the darkness thrown around them by long years of servitude. But with all this there has sprung up possibly a greater menace to the progress of these people.

The colored people believe that they have been discriminated against, ostracized, disfranchised and otherwise oppressed to such an extent that emigration to Africa appears to be the only means that will afford them relief. This society will have by February, or probably sooner, a colony of from three to five hundred sturdy pioneers—men, women and children—ready to embark on a chartered steamer at Savannah, Ga., for their new homes in Africa.

Many of these people, and in fact nearly all of them, are financially unable to undertake this venture without the moral support and some financial aid from their Anglo-Saxon friends.

It is true that Liberia, the place where they are going, offers them every natural advantage and opportunity for making a living and to establish themselves comfortably in a home of their own, but as a matter of fact, with but little means they would have a hard time for the first few months after landing there; therefore this appeal is made to the generous and philanthropic people of America to contribute at least a mite to assist these people for a short while after landing in Liberia.

They will need, first, provisions, medicine and the immediate necessities of life. Then houses, household necessities, farm implements, seeds and things of that description will be needed to enable them to get an

early and successful start. If only a few of their friends will contribute these things in kind, or the money with which to buy them, many souls will be made glad and a worthy cause aided very materially. Will not each one who reads this contribute a dime, a dollar or several dollars? You will be happier for doing so.

Persons wishing to aid these colonists can receive further information by addressing the Liberian Colonization Society, Birmingham, Ala., or donations can be sent direct to it. This appeal comes directly and indirectly from fully four million souls who are crying out for relief from what they believe to be unjust oppression, and many hearts will be made glad and prayers go up to an all-wise God for every favor contributed.

LEE COWART, President.

The following is the most sensible and feasible proposition they ever attempted. It was proposed in October, 1893 (*The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., October 30, 1893, p. 4), and had the scheme been methodically carried out, and accomplished, the so-called negro problem would, in so far as this country is concerned, been settled a number of years ago. Here is the plan: —

A BILLION FOR COLONIZATION

A delegation of colored lawyers from the South is in the city to carry into effect a resolution of the recent Afro-American convention, held in Chattanooga, Tenn. The delegation is composed of S. L. Hutchins, R. C. O. Benjamin, J. G. Burge, John E. Patton, M. C. Parker and Samuel R. Lowery. They are here to present to Congress a memorial asking for \$1,000,000,000 to be appropriated by Congress to colonize the colored race in some other country.

The memorial will be presented to Congress by Rep-

representative Murray, the colored member from the Seventh South Carolina district, but Mr. Murray is not in sympathy with the colonization scheme; he believes that the colored race will make better progress by remaining with the white race and emulating it and receiving the inspiration of a higher civilization.

Such utterly chimerical plans as the following, although proposed by negroes, are noticed here only to show how ignorant these people are of the actual conditions existing about them. Of course, it is altogether nonsense, when we come to talk about setting two States aside for their exclusive occupancy, indeed, it is ridiculous. And, to ship them from one part of the country to another, is no solution at all, besides it is at once more than dangerous and harmful, and can be but a scheme to spread the existing trouble. *The New York Times* (Tuesday, November 10, 1903, p. 1), published the following:—

TWO STATES FOR NEGROES

Bishop Lucien Halsey of the African Church Favors Segregation of His Race.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Washington, Nov. 9.—The first paper read at the opening meeting today of the National Sociological Society, in session in this city to consider "The Race Problem in the United States," came as a shock to many members of the society present. The author of the paper was Bishop Lucien Halsey, of the African Methodist Zion Church, who proposed to have the National Government set aside one or more States of the Union for the segregation of the negroes.

A warm discussion followed the reading of the paper, but no resolutions on the matter were introduced.

A permanent organization was made with ex-Representative White, of North Carolina, as Chairman, and a number of Vice Presidents.

At the afternoon session an address of welcome was made by Commissioner MacFarland, and responded to by the Rev. I. L. Thomas, of Baltimore.

And, a few months before (August 17, 1903), this,—which in reality means nothing more than the natural spread of the race, and the danger in the country:—

NEGRO EMIGRATION SCHEME


Plan is to Have Thousands Go from South to Northwest, and Twenty-five Have Gone Already.

(Special to The New York Times.)

Tacoma, Washington, Aug. 16.—The Rev. J. F. Davidson, pastor of the Mount Olivet Colored Baptist Church, arrived from New Orleans yesterday with a party of twenty-five colored men, whom he will colonize in Tacoma or in the vicinity. Mr. Davidson hopes to be able to purchase a large tract of land upon which he will establish a colored community somewhat co-operative in character. At present a certain part of the wages of the colored men will be set aside every month as a nucleus for a fund for buying this land.

Mr. Davidson expects thousands of colored people will come North from time to time. He himself is one of the Western agents of a colored organization, with headquarters in Boston, the object of which is, if possible, to depopulate the South of negroes by inducing emigration on a monumental scale to favorable regions of the Northwest.

Mr. Davidson is enthusiastic over the prospects of those of his race who are transplanted to the Pacific Northwest, declaring that under favorable conditions they will become intelligent members of society and prove themselves capable of developing into important factors in civilization in this country. One result of this immense immigration of negroes will be to relieve the labor shortage along the entire coast.



Note 9. Page 160.

In so far as Liberia is concerned, the principal argument both of the negroes, as well as their short-sighted supporters of their continued sojourn in this country, has been that the climate of that region was deadly to everyone and any one who made the attempt to reside in it. This is by no means true, and those who claim that it is true, are simply not telling the truth. In my life-time I have known not a few people who have been, and even resided, upon that part of the western coast of Africa, and it has been found to be no more unhealthy than the Atlantic Coast of the United States in the latitude of the Carolinas and of Georgia. The following report will substantiate this statement. It was published in *The Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C., of Friday, March 10, 1893, and reads as follows:—

THE CLIMATE OF LIBERIA

A Man Who Went There Forty Years Ago Gives His Views of the Country.

Gen. R. A. Sherman, a negro, was sent from Georgia to Liberia by the American Colonization Society about forty years ago, and he is now one of the most intelligent, energetic and prosperous citizens of that republic. He resides in Monrovia and is well known at home and abroad as a reliable and enterprising merchant and a man of means. His residence there is provided with all the comforts and even luxuries that are to be found in a well-to-do American or English home.

In a letter recently received by Mr. J. Ormond Wilson he gives his views of the opportunities offered to the American negro of intelligence and character to provide himself a home in Liberia.

He says: "I came here with my father and family in the year 1853. There were eight of us in the fam-

ily, and all passed safely through the process of acclimation; not one died of fever. My grandmother lived to the ripe old age of seventy-six and my mother died seven years ago, having reached the period of three score and seven years. My father met with an accident while repairing the American Colonization Society's warehouse of this city by falling from the roof of the building, which resulted in his death. One of my brothers contracted a cold while on his way to Liverpool and died of that. The rest of our family are living and enjoying excellent health. I was fifteen years old when I came to this country, have been here a little over thirty-nine years, and with the exception of an attack of rheumatism now and then, brought on by excessive exertion and exposure, I enjoy exceedingly good health.

"Nearly all of my associates and acquaintances whom I left in Savannah, Ga., in 1853, have yielded to the inexorable demands of death, while I, who live in the so-called 'inhospitable climate' of Liberia, enjoy good health, working six days out of seven, at my store from 6:30 o'clock A. M. to 5 P. M., and then without feeling very much fatigued when evening comes on.

"There are foreigners, German, Dutch, Norwegians and Englishmen, living in all parts of Liberia, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, for the purpose of trade, and after a few months' acclimation they enjoy very good health — many of them looking as well as when they first arrived from Europe. Persons who adopt cleanly, industrious and temperate habits need have no fear of the fever or climate.

Lady Missionaries

"There are in this city today two white missionary ladies, one belonging to the M. E. Mission and the other to the Protestant Episcopal Mission; the former has been here over ten years and the latter seven. One has visited America twice during her stay of ten years and the other has not been outside of Liberia, yet both

enjoy exceptionally good health. The lady of the M. E. Mission remarked to me a few weeks ago that she has not been confined to bed from fever or any bad effects of the climate one day since she has been in the country. She has a large and thriving school at Krootown, about ten minutes' walk from her residence, and she can be seen every day, Sunday not excepted, going to her post of duty. White foreigners who come here for the purpose of trade go to work at once, not thinking a moment about fever or the climate, and the consequence is that they invariably succeed in not only living in the climate, but in making money also.

Why Some Are Dissatisfied

"On the other hand, many of the emigrants sent out by your society nowadays idle away their time while they have health and strength, making no preparation whatever for the future, but seem to think that they are in a land where work is not necessary to comfort and happiness. They continue in idleness until their six months' supplies are exhausted, and the society declines to furnish them with more, then they become dissatisfied with the country and climate and seek to return to their former homes.

"We want you to send us stout-hearted and willing men possessing the spirit of the Pilgrims who settled the United States of North America — men who love freedom more than the 'flesh pots of Egypt,' and who are willing to labor and endure all the hardships of a new and growing country that their posterity may be benefited and become a great nation in their 'fatherland.'

"The misrepresentations of the African climate have been as gross as those often made of the people, and you will find, when the so-called facts given by prejudiced and misguided persons are stripped of the fiction in which they are dressed, that no more and no less can be said of the Liberian climate than can be said of the climate of Georgia, my native State."

That the various countries of Europe and other

parts of the world begin to see plainly the miserable plight we are in, there is not a shadow of a doubt. Mr. Charles Carrington has recently submitted me a clipping on the subject from one of the best-known and most widely-circulated newspapers of France, in evidence of this (*Le Journal*, Dimanche le 26^e, Juillet, 1903), and this contains so much of interest, and confirms so many points that I have set forth in the present volume, that it affords me pleasure to reproduce here the contribution. It comes from the pen of Ludovic Naudeau, and reads as follows:—

LA HAINE DES NÈGRES

Le lynchage des nègres en Amérique—Une guerre de races—La noir et la blanche—Statistiques significatives—Que deviendront les Afro-Américains?

Encore des récits de viols, de massacres, d'attentats effrayants suivis de répressions plus épouvantables encore. La place qu'occupe la civilisation sur notre planète est encore très petite : l'humanité devra parcourir de longs cycles avant de parvenir à un état de perfection relative.

Il y a de formidables ironies : Au moment même où la Russie adressait des représentations à la Sublime Porte, au sujet des excès de la soldatesque turque en Macédoine, le rôle des victimes de Kischineff faisait tressaillir le monde. Des citoyens humanitaires des Etats-Unis s'émouvaient, rédigeaient une pétition adressée au tsar. Mais cette pétition n'était pas encore signée que plusieurs lynchages de nègres survenus dans diverses villes des Etats américains, avec d'affreux raffinements de cruauté, obligeaient les habitants de la grande République à plus d'humilité. Et plusieurs revues américaines étaient obligées d'avouer qu'avant de chercher à policer les autres peuples, les Américains avaient l'impérieux devoir d'essayer de faire régner l'ordre sur leur propre territoire. C'est moins facile !

des
1903
juil

Que la haine des nègres soit arrivée, aux Etats-Unis, à un paroxysme effrayant, cela ne saurait plus faire de doute pour personne. Beaucoup d'hommes éminents, des Etats du Sud annoncent ouvertement qu'une crise décisive est proche ; ils prévoient un grand bouleversement aboutissant à une véritable guerre de races. Les blancs et les noirs sont exaspérés ; on profère de part et d'autre d'horribles menaces. Le président Roosevelt, lui-même, a compromis un instant sa popularité, en cherchant à prendre la défense des Afro-Américains et en exhortant ses compatriotes à montrer plus de modération. Maintenant, plus de pitié, plus de quartier ! Tout nègre arrêté à la suite d'un délit où il a mis en péril la vie ou la propriété d'un blanc, est arraché de sa prison par une foule furieuse et tué quelquefois après des tortures prolongées. Souvent des noirs sont attachés à un poteau, imbibés de pétrole, et, changés en torches, brûlent vivants devant des milliers de spectateurs qui exultent. Notez que les organisateurs de ces exécutions ne sont point des hors-la-loi, des vagabonds, des malfaiteurs. Très souvent les directeurs de ces holocaustes sont les citoyens les plus notables de leur localité et il advient que la population de toute une région afflue en masse pour assister à ces sacrifices. Quelquefois,— cela est à peine croyable, mais c'est vrai — des trains spéciaux sont organisés qui convergent vers le lieu de l'exécution. Il y a peu de temps, un appareil télégraphique, installé provisoirement pour la circonstance, transmettait minute par minute aux habitants d'une ville, située à plus de soixante kilomètres, le récit détaillé des convulsions, des contorsions d'un nègre dévoré tout vif par les flammes. Le plus grave, c'est que la coutume de lynchage s'étend, et partie du Sud, s'implante dans les Etats du Nord. En 1892, 241 lynchings furent perpétrés aux Etats-Unis ; en 1893, les sociologues américains en ont compté davantage encore, et au cours de l'année 1899 plus de 500 nègres furent mis à mort par le peuple furieux. Si on dresse la statistique

pour 1902 et 1903, on frémit. Que peut faire autorité ? Quand des milliers d'hommes armés entourent à l'improviste une prison et en forcent les portes, quelle résistance sont capables de leur opposer quelques gardiens isolés ? Et, si la troupe réquisitionnée arrive à temps, peut-elle, pour sauver un malfaiteur, ouvrir le feu sur toute une population de citoyens exaspérés ? Aussi bien le lynching est tellement entré dans les mœurs, que ceux qui le pratiquent sont toujours sûrs de trouver dans toutes les classes de la société, et même parmi les fonctionnaires, des complices influents qui leur assurent l'impunité. Quand il s'agit de châtier un délinquant noir, il n'y a plus de légalité, plus de droit des gens, plus de pitié, plus de justice, plus même de raisonnement ; le cœur des hommes les plus doux et les plus pacifiques s'emplit de haine et de férocité.

Supposer que les Américains sont devenus sans raisons aussi implacables serait méconnaître cet axiome, qu'il n'y a point d'effet sans causes. Les statistiques criminelles montrent que si l'humanité noire des Etats-Unis forme seulement 12 0/0 de la population totale, elle fournit cependant 30 0/0 des malfaiteurs de toutes catégories. Encore, si les malfaiteurs à peau noire étaient répartis également dans tous les Etats, leurs méfaits paraîtraient-ils moins nombreux, moins intolérables. Mais la race afro-américaine est massée dans les Etats du Sud et c'est là qu'elle commet la plupart de ses attentats ; c'est là qu'elle constitue un véritable fléau. Les Américains blancs eussent peut-être pu s'accommoder de vivre au contact des nègres, si les criminels de cette race n'eussent été que des voleurs ou des meurtriers ordinaires. Mais les nègres, du moins ceux qui appartiennent à la masse inculte, ont une insurmontable propension au viol. Dans les Etats du Sud, point de femme blanche, point de jeune fille qui soit sûre de n'être point, un jour, saisie par des faunes à peau noire et contrainte de subir l'odieux baiser d'être libidineux, plus redoutés que des gorilles. Cette extraordinaire salacité, cette redoutable appé-

tence qui enflamme le nègre à la vue d'une jeune femme blanche, ce rut qui subitement bouillonne en lui et le fait se ruer sur la proie convoitée, affolé, insoucieux de payer par un châtiment terrible, par les tortures du lynching, les voluptés d'une possession éphémère, voilà véritablement le fléau des Etats du Sud. Oui, ce phénomène physiologique qui pousse vers la blanche dédaigneuse et inaccessible le nègre lubrique, enflammé de convoitise, a engendré la haine farouche, irréductible des Américains blancs pour les Américains noirs. Dans le Sud, point de villages, point de hameaux où des drames ne se passent quelquefois où de jeunes vierges blanches ne succombent hurlantes de rage et de honte, sous l'assaut brutal d'un nègre lascif, où de vertueuses mères de famille, ne subissent parfois le contact détesté du noir triomphant. Quelques-unes se taisent, cachent leur honte et leur désespoir ; les autres affolées pleurent, vocifèrent. Alors les hommes blancs s'assemblent, chargent leurs armes et malheur aux nègres suspects ! Dans ces Etats du Sud, les Américaines ont tellement peur des nègres, qu'une famille blanche ne s'installe point dans une demeure isolée, sans organiser maintes défenses préventives. L'agriculture dans les provinces du Sud est littéralement paralysée par la terreur noire. Songez qu'il y a cinq noirs pour sept blancs en Virginie ; cinq noirs pour six blancs dans l'Alabama, la Georgie et la Floride ; un blanc pour un noir, en Louisiane ; quatre noirs pour trois blancs, dans le Mississippi ; quatre noirs pour deux blancs dans les deux Carolines. Dans un groupe d'Etats contigus, comprenant la Caroline du Sud, la Georgie, la Floride, l'Alabama, le Mississippi et la Louisiane, il y a 4,433,605 noirs et 4,308,398 blancs. Dans tous les Etats-Unis, le dernier recensement a révélé l'existence de 66,893,405 blancs et de 9,192,389 noirs. Il y a quinze villes contenant plus de 20,000 nègres. On en a compté 86,702 à Washington ; 79,259 à Baltimore ; 77,714 à la Nouvelle-Orléans ; 62,613 à Philadelphie et 60,666 à New-York. C'est beaucoup !

Ainsi les descendants des esclaves africains émancipés après la guerre de Sécession embarrassent considérablement maintenant leurs anciens maîtres. Les Américains les plus impartiaux, les philanthropes les plus éclairés sont obligés d'admettre, quarante et un ans après l'affranchissement mémorable, que les hommes de couleur n'ont su faire qu'un détestable usage des droits politiques qu'on leur avait donnés. Une sorte de fatalité abaisse la race noire et la rend en quelque sorte incapable de vivre libre. Il semble qu'elle soit en régression depuis l'abolition de l'esclavage. La grande masse des *coloured men* est dominée par la paresse, le goût de la jouissance ; elle travaille seulement pour satisfaire ses goûts les plus grossiers, les plus bestiaux.

Aussi, au cours des dernières années, dans plusieurs Etats du Sud, les blancs sont parvenus, par des actes législatifs, à priver les nègres de leur capacité électorale. La Louisiane, le Mississippi et la Caroline du Sud ont exigé de tous les électeurs un certificat d'instruction ou de possession. Les noirs, presque tous, ignorants ou indigents, se sont ainsi vu retrancher légalement du pays. Et cette déchéance, ils l'avaient méritée, car quand ils étaient électeurs et politiciens, ils montraient une incapacité, une outrecuidance qui n'étaient surpassées que par leur corruption et leur esprit d'oppression. Dans les villes du Sud, où ils étaient en majorité, ils s'emparaient de toutes les fonctions, révoquaient tous les employés blancs et mettaient à leur place des nègres illettrés. Les percepteurs noirs exonéraient de l'impôt leurs semblables et faisaient payer double taxe aux blancs. Les nègres mis aux prises avec les difficultés de l'administration semblaient n'avoir aucun instinct du droit ni de l'équité, ni même de la logique. Il était fatal que ce peuple-enfant fût puni. Dans sa convoitise grossière, il avait voulu tout prendre et on lui a tout retiré. Annihilé politiquement dans le Sud, il l'a été industriellement dans le Nord où les Syndicats ont refusé d'ad-

mettre un seul nègre, et où les ouvriers n'acceptent jamais de travailler à côté d'un homme de couleur. Dans le Sud, le nègre peut travailler, mais toutes sortes de trafiquants sans vergogne l'exploitent, abusent de sa crédulité et de son ignorance pour lui faire contracter certaines dettes sous le fardeau desquelles il végète plus malheureux que l'esclave du temps passé.

Certes, une élite nègre s'est formée ; elle est dirigée par l'éminent Booker Washington, être extraordinaire, dont nous avons publié, ici même, la biographie, le 28 octobre 1901. La grande Université de Tuskegee que dirige Booker Washington, compte maintenant 1,200 élèves noirs. Malheureusement, cette élite peu nombreuse n'a qu'une influence insuffisante sur les aspirations et la moralité de sa race. Plusieurs nègres instruits des Etats-Unis avouent, avec infiniment de bonne foi, que la question nègre est un embarrassant et redoutable problème pour la République américaine.

Déjà, prévoyant ces périls, Monroe, en 1822, avait fondé, sur la côte de Guinée, la République de Liberia, où il avait transporté 10,000 Afro-Américains. Mais cette tentative a lamentablement avorté. A Liberia, comme en Haïti, la masse nègre, livrée à elle-même, a montré qu'elle était incapable de se gouverner et elle est retournée aux pratiques des sauvages. Maintenant, plusieurs sociologues proposent d'installer les nègres d'Amérique à Cuba ou aux Philippines. L'illustre explorateur anglais, sir H. M. Stanley, conseille aux Américains de les exporter plutôt vers l'Etat-Libre du Congo. Mais il est fort douteux que les Afro-Américains consentent maintenant à quitter le nouveau monde. Car, chose étrange, les descendants des anciens esclaves, malgré le mépris dont on les accable, bien qu'ils ne soient admis nulle part dans la société des blancs, ni dans le monde, ni dans les cercles, ni au théâtre, ni au restaurant, ni dans les trains, ni dans les hôtels, ni même chez les barbiers, bien qu'ils soient honnis, décriés, maudits, vomis par la race dominatrice,

sont fiers d'être Américains et veulent rester Américains. En 1880, il n'y avait, aux Etats-Unis, que 30 journaux entièrement rédigés et composés par des nègres. Il en paraît maintenant 154. Et ces journaux ne se gênent pas pour polémiquer, batailler, menacer et narguer les blancs, attiser les haines, exciter les jalousies, vanter les merveilleuses aptitudes des Afro-Américains ! Non ! Ceux-ci ne retourneront pas vers la terre brûlante où leurs ancêtres couraient tout nus sous les lataniers. Et comme aucun croisement physique, aucun compromis moral n'est possible entre les deux races, un formidable problème anthropologique reste posé, aux Etats-Unis, chaque année plus menaçant et plus insoluble, sinon par la violence.

N'avons-nous pas lu dans un journal de nègres, que les Afro-Américains feraient de grandes choses dans les Etats du Sud, le jour où ils seraient débarrassés des Anglo-Saxons ! Les noirs de la Caroline, auront-ils un jour leur Toussaint Louverture ?

Les Afro-Américains ont des ambitions, des aspirations immenses ! Déjà, ils ont créé une grande chose, puisqu'ils ont inventé le *cake walk*, qui a fait le tour du monde, propagé par la badauerie universelle. Le jour du 14-Juillet, je rencontrai, près des boulevards, une jeune négresse, professionnelle de la chorégraphie, venue à Paris avec une troupe de ses compatriotes pour exécuter dans les cafés-concerts cette ridicule bamboula. Je demandai à la vierge noire ce qu'elle pensait des honnêtes citoyens qui, dans nos rues, s'efforçaient d'exécuter le *cake walk*, sous la pluie de sons des orchestres, pour célébrer la prise de la Bastille.

L'enfant fit une moue, montra l'ivoire de sa bouche et me répondit :

— *I think they are disgusting !*

Voilà ce que pensait la jeune Afro-Américaine : « Les Parisiens qui dansaient le *cake walk* la dégoûtaient. »

LUDOVIC NAUDEAU.

130

71 64 A C 55 4'



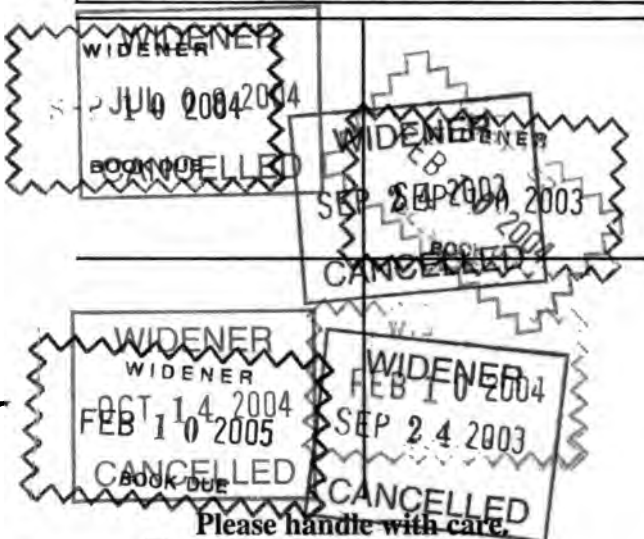




The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.

